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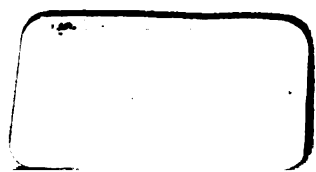
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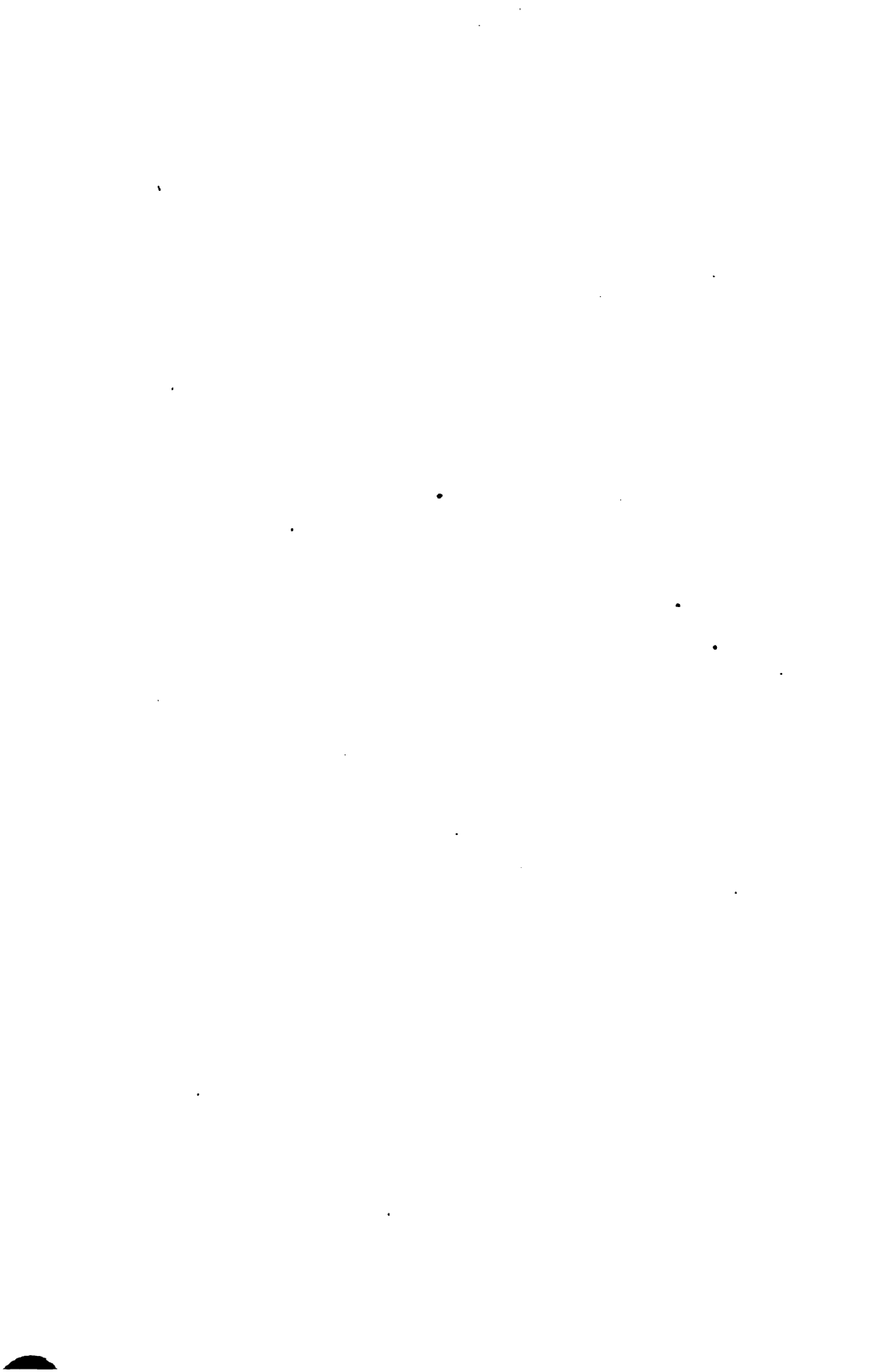
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HISTORY OF THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH.

BY PHILIP SCHAFF, D.D., LL.D.

Just published, in Two Volumes, ex. demy 8vo, price 21s.,

SECTION FIRST—APOSTOLIC CHRISTIANITY, A.D. 1-100.

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* In no other work of its kind with which I am acquainted will students and general readers find so much to instruct and interest them.—Rev. Prof. HUTCOCK, D.D.



HISTORY
OF THE
CHRISTIAN CHURCH

BY
PHILIP SCHAFF

Christianus sum: Christiani nihil a me alienum puto

A NEW EDITION, THOROUGHLY REVISED AND ENLARGED

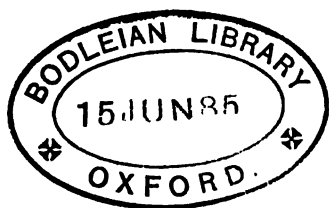
ANTE-NICENE CHRISTIANITY

A. D. 100-325

Division First

EDINBURGH
T. & T. CLARK, 38 GEORGE STREET
1884

110. d. 510^a.



DEDICATED

TO

ELLIOTT F. SHEPARD, Esq.,

IN TOKEN OF FRIENDSHIP AND ESTEEM

BY

THE AUTHOR

PREFACE.

THIS second volume contains the history of Christianity from the end of the Apostolic age to the beginning of the Nicene.

The first Edict of Toleration, A. D. 311, made an end of persecution; the second Edict of Toleration, 313 (there is no third), prepared the way for legal recognition and protection; the Nicene Council, 325, marks the solemn inauguration of the imperial state-church. Constantine, like Eusebius, the theologian, and Hosius the statesman, of his reign, belongs to both periods and must be considered in both, though more fully in the next.

We live in an age of discovery and research, similar to that which preceded the Reformation. The beginnings of history, the beginnings of civilization, the beginnings of Christianity are now absorbing the attention of scholars.

During the present generation early church history has been vastly enriched by new sources of information, and almost revolutionized by independent criticism. Among the recent literary discoveries and publications the following deserve special mention:

The SYRIAC IGNATIUS (by Cureton 1845 and 1849), which opened a new chapter in the Ignatian controversy so closely connected with the rise of Episcopacy and Catholicism; the PHILOSOPHUMENA of HIPPOLYTUS (by Miller 1851, and by Duncker and Schneidewin, 1859), which have shed a flood of light on the ancient heresies and systems of thought, as well as on the doctrinal and disciplinary commotions in the Roman church in the early part of the third century; the TENTH BOOK of THE PSEUDO-CLEMENTINE HOMILIES (by Dressel, 1853), which supplements our knowledge of a curious type of distorted Christianity in the post-apostolic age, and furnishes, by an undoubted quotation, a valuable contribution to the solution of the Johannean problem; the GREEK HERMAS from Mt. Athos (the Codex Lipsiensis, published by Anger and Tischendorf, 1856); a new and complete Greek MS. of the FIRST EPISTLE of the ROMAN CLEMENT with several important new chapters and the oldest

PREFACE.

... about one-tenth of the whole), found in a Con-
 ... (by Bryennios, 1875); and in the same
 ... EPISTLE of CLEMENT, or post-Clementine
 ... in complete form (20 chs. instead of 12), giving us
 ... sermon, besides a new Greek text of the Epistle
 ... SYRIAC Version of CLEMENT in the library of Jules
 ... (1876); fragments of TATIAN'S DIATHESSARON
 ... COMMENTARY on it, in an Armenian version (Latin by
 ... fragments of the apologies of MELITO (1858), and ARIS-
 ... the complete Greek text of the ACTS of THOMAS (by Max
 ... and the crowning discovery of all, the CODEX SINAITI-
 ... the only complete uncial MS. of the Greek Testament, together
 ... the GREEK BARNABAS and the GREEK HERMAS (by Tischendorf,
 ... which, with the facsimile edition of the VATICAN CODEX (1868-
 ... marks an epoch in the science of textual criticism of the
 Greek Testament and of those two Apostolic Fathers, and establishes the
 list of the ecclesiastical use of all our canonical books in the age of
 Eusebius.

In view of these discoveries we would not be surprised if the EXPO-
 SITION of THE LORD'S ORACLES by PAPIAS, which was still in existence
 at Nîmes in 1215, the MEMORIALS of HEGESIPPUS, and the whole
 GREEK original of IRENÆUS, which were recorded by a librarian as ex-
 tant in the sixteenth century, should turn up in some old convent.

In connection with these fresh sources there has been a corresponding
 activity on the part of scholars. The Germans have done and are doing
 an astonishing amount of *Quellenforschung* and *Quellenkritik* in numerous
 monographs and periodicals, and have given us the newest and best
 critical editions of the Apostolic Fathers and Apologists. The English
 with their strong common sense, judicial calmness, and conservative tact
 are fast wheeling into the line of progress, as is evident from the collec-
 tive works on *Christian Antiquities*, and *Christian Biography*, and from
 Bp. Lightfoot's *Clementine Epistles*, which are soon to be followed by his
 edition of the *Ignatian Epistles*. To the brilliant French genius and learn-
 ing of Mr. Renan we owe a graphic picture of the secular surroundings
 of early Christianity down to the time of Marcus Aurelius, with sharp
 glances into the literature and life of the church. His *Histoire des
 Origines du Christianisme*, now completed in seven volumes, after twenty
 years' labor, is well worthy to rank with Gibbon's immortal work. The
 Rise and Triumph of Christianity is a grander theme than the contempo-
 rary Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, but no historian can do
 justice to it without faith in the divine character and mission of that
 peaceful Conqueror of immortal souls, whose kingdom shall have no end.

The importance of these literary discoveries and investigations should not blind us to the almost equally important monumental discoveries and researches of Cavalier de Rossi, Garrucci, and other Italian scholars who have illuminated the subterranean mysteries of the church of Rome and of early Christian art. Neander, Gieseler, and Baur, the greatest church historians of the nineteenth century, are as silent about the catacombs as Mosheim and Gibbon were in the eighteenth. But who could now write a history of the first three centuries without recording the lessons of those rude yet expressive pictures, sculptures and epitaphs from the homes of confessors and martyrs? Nor should we overlook the gain which has come to us from the study of monumental inscriptions, as for instance in rectifying the date of Polycarp's martyrdom who is now brought ten years nearer to the age of St. John.

Before long there will be great need of an historic architect who will construct a beautiful and comfortable building out of the vast material thus brought to light. The Germans are historic miners, the French and English are skilled manufacturers; the former understand and cultivate the science of history, the latter excel in the art of historiography. A master of both would be the ideal historian. But God has wisely distributed his gifts, and made individuals and nations depend upon and supplement each other.

The present volume is an entire reconstruction of the corresponding part of the first edition (vol. I. p. 144-528), which appeared twenty-five years ago, and is more than double in size. Some chapters (*e. g.* VI. VII. IX.) and several sections (*e. g.* 90-98, 103, 155-157, 168, 171, 184, 189, 190, 193, 198-204, etc.) are new, and the rest has been improved and enlarged, especially the last chapter on the literature of the church. My endeavor has been to bring the book up to the present advanced state of knowledge, to record every important work (German, French, English, and American) which has come under my notice, and to make the results of the best scholarship of the age available and useful to the rising generation.

In conclusion, I may be permitted to express my thanks for the kind reception which has been accorded to this revised edition of the work of my youth. It will stimulate me to new energy in carrying it forward as far as God may give time and strength. The third volume needs no reconstruction, and a new edition of the same with a few improvements will be issued without delay.

PHILIP SCHAFF.

UNION THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY,

October, 1883.

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A. D. 100-311 (325).

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SECOND PERIOD.

ANTE-NICENE CHRISTIANITY;

OR,

THE AGE OF PERSECUTION AND MARTYRDOM:

FROM THE

DEATH OF JOHN THE APOSTLE TO CONSTANTINE THE GREAT.

A. D. 100-311 (325).

"THE BLOOD OF MARTYRS IS THE SEED OF THE CHURCH."

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OR,

THE AGE OF PERSECUTION AND MARTYRDOM.

FROM THE

DEATH OF JOHN THE APOSTLE TO CONSTANTINE THE GREAT.

§ 1. *Literature on the Ante-Nicene Age.*

I. SOURCES.

1. The writings of the Apostolic Fathers, the Apologists, and all the ecclesiastical authors of the 2nd and 3rd, and to some extent of the 4th and 5th centuries; particularly CLEMENT OF ROME, IGNA-TIUS, POLYCARP, JUSTIN MARTYR, IRENÆUS, HIPPOLYTUS, TER-TULLIAN, CYPRIAN, CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA, ORIGEN, EUSE-BIUS, JEROME, EPIPHANIUS, and THEODORET.

2. The writings of the numerous heretics, mostly extant only in fragments.

3. The works of the pagan opponents of Christianity, as CELSUS, LUCIAN, PORPHYRY, JULIAN THE APOSTATE.

4. The occasional notices of Christianity, in the contemporary classical authors, TACITUS, SUETONIUS, the younger PLINY, DION CASSIUS.

II. COLLECTIONS OF SOURCES, (besides those included in the com-prehensive Patristic Libraries):

GEBHARDT, HARNACK, and ZAHN: *Patrum Apostolicorum Opera*. Lips., 1876.

FR. XAV. FUNK (R. C.): *Opera Patrum Apost.* Tubing., 1878, 1881, 2 vols.

I. C. TH. OTTO: *Corpus Apologetarum Christianorum sæculi secundi*. Jenæ, 1841 sqq., in 9 vols.; 2nd ed. 1847-1861; 3rd ed. 1876 sqq. ("*plurimum aucta et emendata*"). The fifth vol (publ. 1881) com-

pletes the works of Justin Martyr. The next vol. will contain Tatian.

ROBERTS and DONALDSON: *Ante-Nicene Christian Library*. Edinburgh (T. & T. Clark), 1868-'72, 25 vols. The most complete and most valuable collection for the English reader.

The fragments of the earliest Christian writers, whose works are lost, may be found collected in GRABE: *Spicilegium Patrum ut et Haereticorum Saeculi I. II. et III.* (Oxon. 1700; new ed. Oxf. 1714, 3 vols.); in ROUTH: *Reliquiae Sacrae, sive auctorum fere jam perditorum secundi, tertiique saeculi fragmenta, quae supersunt* (Oxon. 1814 sqq. 4 vols.; 2nd ed. enlarged, 5 vols. Oxf. 1846-48); and in DOM. I. B. PITRA (O. S. B., a French Cardinal since 1863): *Spicilegium Solesmense, complectens sanctorum patrum scriptorumque eccles. anecdota hactenus opera, selecta e Graecis, Orientalibus et Latinis codicibus* (Paris, 1852-'60, 5 vols.). Comp. also BUNSEN: *Christianity and Man-kind, etc.* Lond. 1854, vols. V., VI. and VII., which contain the *Analecta Ante-Nicaena (reliquiae literariae, canonicae, liturgicae)*.

The *haeresiological* writings of Epiphanius, Philastrius, Pseudo-Tertullian, etc. are collected in FRANC. OEHLER: *Corpus haeresologicum*. Berol. 1856-61, 8 vols. They belong more to the next period.

The *Jewish and Heathen Testimonies* are collected by N. LARDNER, 1764, new ed. by Kippis, Lond. 1838.

III. HISTORIES.

1. Ancient Historians.

HEGESIPPUS (a Jewish Christian of the middle of the second century): 'Υπομνήματα τῶν ἐκκλησιαστικῶν πράξεων (quoted under the title πέντε ὑπομνήματα and πέντε συγγράμματα). These ecclesiastical Memorials are only preserved in fragments (on the martyrdom of James of Jerusalem, the rise of heresies, etc.) in Eusebius *H. Eccl.*, collected by Grabe (*Spicileg.* II. 203-214), Routh (*Reliqu. Sacrae*, vol. I. 209-219), and Hilgenfeld ("Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theol." 1876, pp. 179 sqq.). See art. of Weissäcker in Herzog, 2nd ed., V. 695; and of Milligan in Smith & Wace, II. 875. The work was still extant in the 16th century, and may be discovered yet; see Hilgenfeld's "Zeitschrift" for 1880, p. 127. It is strongly *Jewish-Christian*, yet not Ebionite, but Catholic.

* EUSEBIUS (bishop of Caesarea in Palestine since 315, died 340, "the father of Church History," "the Christian Herodotus," confidential friend, adviser, and eulogist of Constantine the Great): 'Εκκλησιαστικὴ ἱστορία, from the incarnation to the defeat and death of Licinius 324. Chief edd. by Stephens, Paris 1544 (*ed. princeps*); Valesius (with the other Greek church historians), Par. 1659; Reading, Cambr. 1720; Zimmermann, Francof. 1822; Burton, Oxon. 1838 and 1845 (2 vols.); Schwegler, Tub. 1852; Lämmer, Scaphus. 1862 (important for the text); F. A. Heinichen, Lips. 1827, second ed. improved 1868-'70, 3 vols. (the most complete and useful edition of all the *Scripta His-*

torica of Eus.); *G. Dindorf*, Lips. 1871. English translation by *C. F. Crust*, Lond. 1842, Philad. 1860, and another in the collection of the *Greek Ecclesiastical Historians of the First Six Centuries* (Eusebius, Socrates, Sozomen, Theodoret, and Evagrius), London, 1709, 1729, 1843-'47, 6 vols. (also in Bohn's "Ecclesiastical Library.")

The other historical writings of Eusebius, including his *Chronicle*, his *Life of Constantine*, and his *Martyrs of Palestine*, are found in Heinichen's ed., and also in the ed. of his *Opera Omnia*, by MIGNE, "Patrol. Græca," Par. 1857, 5 vols.

Best ed. of his *Chronicle* by ALFRED SCHÖNE (EUSEB. *Chronic.*), Berlin, 1866 and 1875, 2 vols.

Whatever may be said of the defects of Eusebius as an historical critic and writer, his learning and industry are unquestionable, and his Church History and Chronicle will always remain an invaluable collection of information not attainable in any other ancient author. The sarcastic contempt of Gibbon and charge of wilful suppression of truth are not justified, except against his laudatory over-estimate of Constantine, whose splendid services to the church blinded his vision. For a just estimate of Eusebius see the exhaustive article of Bishop Lightfoot in Smith & Wace, II. 308-348.

2. Modern Historians.

WILLIAM CAVE (died 1718): *Primitive Christianity*. Lond. 4th ed. 1682, in 3 parts. The same: *Lives of the most eminent Fathers of the Church that flourished in the first four centuries, 1677-'83*, 2 vols.; revised by ed. *H. Carey*, Oxford, 1840, in 8 vols. Comp. also CAVE's *Scriptorum ecclesiasticorum historia literaria, a Christo nato usque ad sæculum XIV*; best ed. Oxford, 1740-'48, 2 vols. fol.

* J. L. MOSHEIM: *Commentarii de rebus Christianis ante Constantinum*. M. Helmst. 1753. The same in English by *Vidal*, 1813 sqq., 3 vols., and by *Murdock*, New Haven, 1852, 2 vols.

* EDWARD GIBBON: *The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*. London, 1776-'88, 6 vols.; best edd. by *Milman*, with his own, *Guizot's* and *Wenck's* notes, and by *William Smith*, including the notes of *Milman*, etc. Reprinted, London, 1872, 8 vols., New York, *Harpers*, 1880, in 6 vols. In Chs. 15 and 16, and throughout his great work, Gibbon dwells on the outside, and on the defects rather than the virtues of ecclesiastical Christianity, without entering into the heart of spiritual Christianity which continued beating through all ages; but for fullness and general accuracy of information and artistic representation his work is still unsurpassed.

H. G. TZSCHIRNER: *Der Fall des Heidenthums*. Leipz. 1829.

EDW. BURTON: *Lectures upon the Ecclesiastical History of the first three Centuries*. Oxf. 1833, in 3 parts (in 1 vol. 1845). He made also collections of the ante-Nicene testimonies to the Divinity of Christ, and the Holy Spirit.

HENRY H. MILMAN: *The History of Christianity from the Birth of Christ*

- to the Abolition of Paganism in the Roman Empire.* Lond. 1840. 3 vols.; 2nd ed. 1866. Comp. also the first book of his *History of Latin Christianity*, 2d ed. London and New York, 1860, in 8 vols.
- JOHN KAYE (Bishop of Lincoln, d. 1853): *Ecclesiastical History of the Second and Third Centuries, illustrated from the writings of Tertullian.* Lond. 1845. Comp. also his books on *Justin Martyr*, *Clement of Alex.*, and the *Council of Nicæa* (1853).
- F. D. MAURICE: *Lectures on the Eccles. Hist. of the First and Second Cent.* Cambr. 1854.
- * A. RITSCHL: *Die Entstehung der alt-katholischen Kirche.* Bonn, 1850; 2nd ed. 1857. The second edition is partly reconstructed and more positive.
- * E. DE PRESSENSÉ (French Protestant): *Histoire de trois premiers siècles de l'église chrétienne.* Par. 1858 sqq. The same in German trans. by E. Fabarius. Leipz. 1862-'63, 4 vols. English transl. by Annie Harwood-Holmden, under the title: *The Early Years of Christianity. A Comprehensive History of the First Three Centuries of the Christian Church*; 4 vols. Vol. I. The Apost. Age; vol. II. Martyrs and Apologists; vol. III. Heresy and Christian Doctrine; vol. IV. Christian Life and Practice. London (Hodder & Stoughton), 1870 sqq., cheaper ed. 1879. Written in a good spirit, with French vivacity, and in popular style.
- W. D. KILLEN (Presbyterian): *The Ancient Church traced for the first three centuries.* Edinb. and New York, 1859.
- AMBROSE MANAHAN (R. Cath.): *Triumph of the Catholic Church in the Early Ages.* New York, 1859.
- ALVAN LAMSON (Unitarian): *The Church of the First Three Centuries, with special reference to the doctrine of the Trinity; illustrating its late origin and gradual formation.* Boston, 1860.
- MILO MAHAN (Episcopalian): *A Church History of the first three centuries.* N. York, 1860. (Largely copied from the first ed. of this work.)
- J. J. BLUNT: *History of the Christian Church during the first three centuries.* London, 1861.
- JOS. SCHWANE (R. C.): *Dogmengeschichte der vornicænischen Zeit.* Münster, 1862.
- TH. W. MOSEMAN: *History of the Cath. Church of J. Christ from the death of St. John to the middle of the second century.* Lond. 1873.
- * ERNEST RENAN: *L' Histoire des origines du Christianisme.* Paris, 1863-1882, 7 vols. The last two vols., *l' église Chrétienne*, 1879, and *Marc Aurèle*, 1882, belong to this period. Learned, critical, and brilliant, but thoroughly secular, and skeptical.
- * GERHARD UHLHORN: *Der Kampf des Christenthums mit dem Heidenthum.* 3d improved ed. Stuttgart, 1879. English transl. by Profs. Egbert C. Smyth and O. J. H. Ropes: *The Conflict of Christianity, etc.* N. York, 1879. An admirable translation of a graphic and inspiring account of the heroic conflict of Christianity with heathen Rome.

* THEOD. KEIM, (d. 1879): *Rom und das Christenthum*. Ed. from the author's MSS. by H. Ziegler. Berlin, 1881. (667 pages).

CHR. WORDSWORTH (Bishop of Lincoln): *A Church History to the Council of Nicaea A. D. 325*. Lond. and N. York, 1881. Anglo-Catholic, churchly, traditional, devout, uncritical (481 pages).

Of the general works on Church History, those of BARONIUS, TILLEMONT (R. C.), SCHRÖCKH, GIESELER, NEANDER, and BAUR (the third revised ed. of vol. 1st, Tüb. 1853, pp. 175-527; the same also transl. into English) should be noticed throughout on this period; but all these books are *partly* superseded by more recent discoveries and discussions of special points, which will be noticed in the respective sections.

§ 2. *General Character of Ante-Nicene Christianity.*

We now descend from the primitive apostolic church to the Graeco-Roman; from the scene of creation to the work of preservation; from the fountain of divine revelation to the stream of human development; from the inspirations of the apostles and prophets to the productions of enlightened but fallible teachers. The hand of God has drawn a bold line of demarcation between the century of miracles and the succeeding ages, to show, by the abrupt transition and the striking contrast, the difference between the work of God and the work of man, and to impress us the more deeply with the supernatural origin of Christianity and the incomparable value of the New Testament. There is no other transition in history so radical and sudden, and yet so silent and secret. The stream of divine life in its passage from the mountain of inspiration to the valley of tradition is for a short time lost to our view, and seems to run under ground. Hence the close of the first and the beginning of the second centuries, or the age of the Apostolic Fathers is often regarded as a period for critical conjecture and doctrinal and ecclesiastical controversy rather than for historical narration.

Still, notwithstanding the striking difference, the church of the second and third centuries is a legitimate continuation of that of the primitive age. While far inferior in originality, purity, energy, and freshness, it is distinguished for conscientious

fidelity in preserving and propagating the sacred writings and traditions of the apostles, and for untiring zeal in imitating their holy lives amidst the greatest difficulties and dangers, when the religion of Christ was prohibited by law and the profession of it punished as a political crime.

The second period, from the death of the apostle John to the end of the persecutions, or to the accession of Constantine, the first Christian emperor, is the classic age of the *ecclesia pressa*, of heathen persecution, and of Christian martyrdom and heroism, of cheerful sacrifice of possessions and life itself for the inheritance of heaven. It furnishes a continuous commentary on the Saviour's words: "Behold, I send you forth as sheep in the midst of wolves;" "I came not to send peace on earth, but a sword."¹ No merely human religion could have stood such an ordeal of fire for three hundred years. The final victory of Christianity over Judaism and heathenism, and the mightiest empire of the ancient world, a victory gained without physical force, but by the moral power of patience and perseverance, of faith and love, is one of the sublimest spectacles in history, and one of the strongest evidences of the divinity and indestructible life of our religion.

But equally sublime and significant are the intellectual and spiritual victories of the church in this period over the science and art of heathenism, and over the assaults of Gnostic and Ebionitic heresy, with the copious vindication and development of the Christian truth, which the great mental conflict with those open and secret enemies called forth.

The church of this period appears poor in earthly possessions and honors, but rich in heavenly grace, in world-conquering faith, love, and hope; unpopular, even outlawed, hated, and persecuted, yet far more vigorous and expansive than the philosophies of Greece or the empire of Rome; composed chiefly of persons of the lower social ranks, yet attracting the

¹ Comp. Matt. 10: 17-39; 5: 10, 12; 13: 21; 16: 24; 20: 22 sq.; 1 Cor. 15: 31; 2 Cor. 4: 10; Rom. 8: 35; Phil. 3: 10 sq.; Col. 1: 24 sq.; 1 Pet. 2: 21.

noblest and deepest minds of the age, and bearing in her bosom the hope of the world; "as unknown, yet well-known, as dying, and behold it lives;" conquering by apparent defeat, and growing on the blood of her martyrs; great in deeds, greater in sufferings, greatest in death for the honor of Christ and the benefit of generations to come.¹

The condition and manners of the Christians in this age are most beautifully described by the unknown author of the "*Epistola ad Diognetum*" in the early part of the second century.² "The Christians," he says, "are not distinguished from other men by country, by language, nor by civil institutions. For they neither dwell in cities by themselves, nor use a peculiar tongue, nor lead a singular mode of life. They dwell in the Grecian or barbarian cities, as the case may be; they follow the usage of the country in dress, food, and the other affairs of life. Yet they present a wonderful and confessedly paradoxical conduct. They dwell in their own native lands, but as strangers. They take part in all things, as citizens; and they suffer all things, as foreigners. Every foreign country is a fatherland to them, and every native land is a foreign. They marry, like all others; they have children; but they do not cast away their offspring. They have the table in common, but not wives. They are in the flesh, but do not live after the flesh. They

¹ Isaac Taylor, in his *Ancient Christianity*, which is expressly written against a superstitious over-valuation of the patristic age, nevertheless admits (vol. i. p. 37): "Our brethren of the early church challenge our respect, as well as affection; for theirs was the fervor of a steady faith in things unseen and eternal; theirs, often, a meek patience under the most grievous wrongs; theirs the courage to maintain a good profession before the frowning face of philosophy, of secular tyranny, and of splendid superstition; theirs was abstractedness from the world and a painful self-denial; theirs the most arduous and costly labors of love; theirs a munificence in charity, altogether without example; theirs was a reverent and scrupulous care of the sacred writings; and this one merit, if they had no other, is of a superlative degree, and should entitle them to the veneration and grateful regards of the modern church. How little do many readers of the Bible, nowadays, think of what it cost the Christians of the second and third centuries, merely to rescue and hide the sacred treasures from the rage of the heathen!"

² C. 5 and 6 (p. 69 sq. ed. Otto. Lips. 1852).

live upon the earth, but are citizens of heaven. They obey the existing laws, and excel the laws by their lives. They love all, and are persecuted by all. They are unknown, and yet they are condemned. They are killed and are made alive. They are poor and make many rich. They lack all things, and in all things abound. They are reproached, and glory in their reproaches. They are calumniated, and are justified. They are cursed, and they bless. They receive scorn, and they give honor. They do good, and are punished as evil-doers. When punished, they rejoice, as being made alive. By the Jews they are attacked as aliens, and by the Greeks persecuted; and the cause of the enmity their enemies cannot tell. In short, what the soul is in the body, the Christians are in the world. The soul is diffused through all the members of the body, and the Christians are spread through the cities of the world. The soul dwells in the body, but it is not of the body; so the Christians dwell in the world, but are not of the world. The soul, invisible, keeps watch in the visible body; so also the Christians are seen to live in the world, but their piety is invisible. The flesh hates and wars against the soul, suffering no wrong from it, but because it resists fleshly pleasures; and the world hates the Christians with no reason, but that they resist its pleasures. The soul loves the flesh and members, by which it is hated; so the Christians love their haters. The soul is inclosed in the body, but holds the body together; so the Christians are detained in the world as in a prison; but they contain the world. Immortal, the soul dwells in the mortal body; so the Christians dwell in the corruptible, but look for incorruption in heaven. The soul is the better for restriction in food and drink; and the Christians increase, though daily punished. This lot God has assigned to the Christians in the world; and it cannot be taken from them."

The community of Christians thus from the first felt itself, in distinction from Judaism and from heathenism, the salt of the earth, the light of the world, the city of God set on a hill, the immortal soul in a dying body; and this its impression

respecting itself was no proud conceit, but truth and reality, acting in life and in death, and opening the way through hatred and persecution even to an outward victory over the world.

The ante-Nicene age has been ever since the Reformation a battle-field between Catholic and Evangelical historians and polemics, and is claimed by both for their respective creeds. But it is a sectarian abuse of history to identify the Christianity of this martyr period either with Catholicism, or with Protestantism. It is rather the common root out of which both have sprung, Catholicism (Greek and Roman) first, and Protestantism afterwards. It is the natural transition from the apostolic age to the Nicene age, yet leaving behind many important truths of the former (especially the Pauline doctrines) which were to be derived and explored in future ages. We can trace in it the elementary forms of the Catholic creed, organization and worship, and also the germs of nearly all the corruptions of Greek and Roman Christianity.

In its relation to the secular power, the ante-Nicene church is simply the continuation of the apostolic period, and has nothing in common either with the hierarchical, or with the Erastian systems. It was not opposed to the secular government in its proper sphere, but the secular heathenism of the government was opposed to Christianity. The church was altogether based upon the voluntary principle, as a self-supporting and self-governing body. In this respect it may be compared to the church in the United States, but with this essential difference that in America the secular government, instead of persecuting Christianity, recognizes and protects it by law, and secures to it full freedom of public worship and in all its activities at home and abroad.

The theology of the second and third centuries was mainly apologetic against the paganism of Greece and Rome, and polemic against the various forms of the Gnostic heresy. In this conflict it brings out, with great force and freshness, the principal arguments for the divine origin and character of the Christian religion and the outlines of the true doctrine of Christ

and the holy trinity, as afterwards more fully developed in the Nicene and post-Nicene ages.

The organization of this period may be termed primitive episcopacy, as distinct from the apostolic order which preceded, and the metropolitan and patriarchal hierarchy which succeeded it. In worship it forms likewise the transition from apostolic simplicity to the liturgical and ceremonial splendor of full-grown Catholicism.

The first half of the second century is comparatively veiled in obscurity, although considerable light has been shed over it by recent discoveries and investigations. After the death of John only a few witnesses remain to testify of the wonders of the apostolic days, and their writings are few in number, short in compass and partly of doubtful origin : a volume of letters and historical fragments, accounts of martyrdom, the pleadings of two or three apologists ; to which must be added the rude epitaphs, faded pictures, and broken sculptures of the subterranean church in the catacombs. The men of that generation were more skilled in acting out Christianity in life and death, than in its literary defence. After the intense commotion of the apostolic age there was a breathing spell, a season of unpretending but fruitful preparation for a new productive epoch. But the soil of heathenism had been broken up, and the new seed planted by the hands of the apostles gradually took root.

Then came the great literary conflict of the apologists and doctrinal polemics in the second half of the same century ; and towards the middle of the third the theological schools of Alexandria, and northern Africa, laying the foundation the one for the theology of the Greek, the other for that of the Latin church. At the beginning of the fourth century the church east and west was already so well consolidated in doctrine and discipline that it easily survived the shock of the last and most terrible persecution, and could enter upon the fruits of its long-continued sufferings and take the reins of government in the old Roman empire.

CHAPTER I.

SPREAD OF CHRISTIANITY.

§ 3. Literature.

I. SOURCES.

- No statistics or accurate statements, but only scattered hints in
PLINY (107): *Ep.* x. 96 sq.
JUSTIN MARTYR (about 140): *Dial.* 117; *Apol.* I. 53.
IRENÆUS (about 170): *Adv. Haer.* I. 10; III. 3, 4; v. 20, etc.
TERTULLIAN (about 200): *Apol.* I. 21, 37, 41, 42; *Ad Nat.* I. 7; *Adv. Scap.* 5; *Adv. Jud.* 13.
ORIGEN (d. 254): *Contr. Cels.* II, 14, 33; *Com. in Matth.* p. 857, ed. Delarue.
EUSEBIUS (d. 340): *Hist. Eccl.* III. 1; v. 1, etc.
AUGUSTIN (d. 430): *De Civitate Dei.*

II. WORKS.

- MICH. LE QUIEN (a learned Dominican, d. 1783): *Oriens Christianus.* Par. 1740. 8 vols. fol. A complete ecclesiastical geography of the East, divided into the four patriarchates of Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem.
MOSHEIM: *Historical Commentaries*, etc. (ed. Murdock) I. 259-290.
GIBBON: *The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire.* Chap. xv.
A. BEUGNOT: *Histoire de la destruction du paganisme en Occident.* Paris 1835, 2 vols. Crowned by the *Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres.*
ETIENNE CHASTEL: *Histoire de la destruction du paganisme dans l'empire d'Orient.* Paris 1850. Prize essay of the *Académie.*
NEANDER: *History of the Christian Relig. and Church* (trans. of Torrey), I. 68-79.
WILTECH: *Handbuch der kirchl. Geographie u. Statistik.* Berlin 1846. I. p. 32 sqq.
CHS. MERIVALE: *Conversion of the Roman Empire* (Boyle Lectures for 1864), republ. N. York 1865. Comp. also his *History of the Romans under the Empire*, which goes from Julius Cæsar to Marcus Aurelius, Lond. & N. York, 7 vols.
EDWARD A. FREEMAN: *The Historical Geography of Europe.* Lond. & N. York 1881. 2 vols. (vol. I. chs. II. & III. pp. 18-71.)
Comp. FRIEDLÄNDER, *Sittengesch. Roms.* III. 517 sqq.; and RENAN: *Marc-Aurèle.* Paris 1882, ch. xxv. pp. 447-464 (*Statistique et extension géographique du Christianisme*).

§ 4. *Hindrances and Helps.*

For the first three centuries Christianity was placed in the most unfavorable circumstances, that it might display its moral power, and gain its victory over the world by spiritual weapons alone. Until the reign of Constantine it had not even a legal existence in the Roman empire, but was first ignored as a Jewish sect, then slandered, proscribed, and persecuted, as a treasonable innovation, and the adoption of it made punishable with confiscation and death. Besides, it offered not the slightest favor, as Mohammedanism afterwards did, to the corrupt inclinations of the heart, but against the current ideas of Jews and heathen it so presented its inexorable demand of repentance and conversion, renunciation of self and the world, that more, according to Tertullian, were kept out of the new sect by love of pleasure than by love of life. The Jewish origin of Christianity also, and the poverty and obscurity of a majority of its professors particularly offended the pride of the Greeks and Romans. Celsus, exaggerating this fact, and ignoring the many exceptions, scoffingly remarked, that "weavers, cobblers, and fullers, the most illiterate persons" preached the "irrational faith," and knew how to commend it especially "to women and children."

But in spite of these extraordinary difficulties Christianity made a progress which furnished striking evidence of its divine origin and adaptation to the deeper wants of man, and was employed as such by Irenæus, Justin, Tertullian, and other fathers of that day. Nay, the very hindrances became, in the hands of Providence, means of promotion. Persecution led to martyrdom, and martyrdom had not terrors alone, but also attractions, and stimulated the noblest and most unselfish form of ambition. Every genuine martyr was a living proof of the truth and holiness of the Christian religion. Tertullian could exclaim to the heathen: "All your ingenious cruelties can accomplish nothing; they are only a lure to this sect. Our number in-

creases the more you destroy us. The blood of the Christians is their seed." The moral earnestness of the Christians contrasted powerfully with the prevailing corruption of the age, and while it repelled the frivolous and voluptuous, it could not fail to impress most strongly the deepest and noblest minds. The predilection of the poor and oppressed for the gospel attested its comforting and redeeming power. But others also, though not many, from the higher and educated classes, were from the first attracted to the new religion; such men as Nicodemus, Joseph of Arimathæa, the apostle Paul, the proconsul Sergius Paulus, Dionysius of Athens, Erastus of Corinth, and some members of the imperial household. Among the sufferers in Domitian's persecution were his own near kinswoman Flavia Domitilla and her husband Flavius Clemens. In the oldest part of the Catacomb of Callistus, which is named after St. Lucina, members of the illustrious *gens Pomponia*, and perhaps also of the Flavian house, are interred. The senatorial and equestrian orders furnished several converts open or concealed. Pliny laments, that in Asia Minor men of every rank (*omnis ordinis*) go over to the Christians. Tertullian asserts that the tenth part of Carthage, and among them senators and ladies of the noblest descent and the nearest relatives of the proconsul of Africa professed Christianity. The numerous church fathers from the middle of the second century, a Justin Martyr, Irenæus, Hippolytus, Clement, Origen, Tertullian, Cyprian, excelled, or at least equalled in talent and culture, their most eminent heathen contemporaries.

Nor was this progress confined to any particular localities. It extended alike over all parts of the empire. "We are a people of yesterday," says Tertullian in his Apology, "and yet we have filled every place belonging to you—cities, islands, castles, towns, assemblies, your very camp, your tribes, companies, palace, senate, forum! We leave you your temples only. We can count your armies; our numbers in a single province will be greater." All these facts expose the injustice of the odious charge of Celsus, repeated by a modern sceptic,

that the new sect was almost entirely composed of the dregs of the populace—of peasants and mechanics, of boys and women, of beggars and slaves.

§ 5. *Causes of the Success of Christianity.*

The chief positive cause of the rapid spread and ultimate triumph of Christianity is to be found in its own absolute intrinsic worth, as the universal religion of salvation, and in the perfect teaching and example of its divine-human Founder, who proves himself to every believing heart a Saviour from sin and a giver of eternal life. Christianity is adapted to all classes, conditions, and relations among men, to all nationalities and races, to all grades of culture, to every soul that longs for redemption from sin, and for holiness of life. Its value could be seen in the truth and self-evidencing power of its doctrines; in the purity and sublimity of its precepts; in its regenerating and sanctifying effects on heart and life; in the elevation of woman and of home life over which she presides; in the amelioration of the condition of the poor and suffering; in the faith, the brotherly love, the beneficence, and the triumphant death of its confessors.

To this internal moral and spiritual testimony were added the powerful outward proof of its divine origin in the prophecies and types of the Old Testament, so strikingly fulfilled in the New; and finally, the testimony of the miracles, which, according to the express statements of Quadratus, Justin Martyr, Irenæus, Tertullian, Origen, and others, continued in this period to accompany the preaching of missionaries from time to time, for the conversion of the heathen.

Particularly favorable outward circumstances were the extent, order, and unity of the Roman empire, and the prevalence of the Greek language and culture.

In addition to these positive causes, Christianity had a powerful negative advantage in the hopeless condition of the Jewish and heathen world. Since the fearful judgment of the destruction of Jerusalem, Judaism wandered restless and

accursed, without national existence. Heathenism outwardly held sway, but was inwardly rotten and in process of inevitable decay. The popular religion and public morality were undermined by a sceptical and materialistic philosophy; Grecian science and art had lost their creative energy; the Roman empire rested only on the power of the sword and of temporal interests; the moral bonds of society were sundered; unbounded avarice and vice of every kind, even by the confession of a Seneca and a Tacitus, reigned in Rome and in the provinces, from the throne to the hovel. Virtuous emperors, like Antoninus Pius and Marcus Aurelius, were the exception, not the rule, and could not prevent the progress of moral decay. Nothing, that classic antiquity in its fairest days had produced, could heal the fatal wounds of the age, or even give transient relief. The only star of hope in the gathering night was the young, the fresh, the dauntless religion of Jesus, fearless of death, strong in faith, glowing with love, and destined to commend itself more and more to all reflecting minds as the only living religion of the present and the future. While the world was continually agitated by wars, and revolutions, and public calamities, while systems of philosophy, and dynasties were rising and passing away, the new religion, in spite of fearful opposition from without and danger from within, was silently and steadily progressing with the irresistible force of truth, and worked itself gradually into the very bone and blood of the race.

"Christ appeared," says the great Augustin, "to the men of the decrepit, decaying world, that while all around them was withering away, they might through Him receive new, youthful life."

NOTES.

GIBBON, in his famous fifteenth chapter, traces the rapid progress of Christianity in the Roman empire to five causes: the zeal of the early Christians, the belief in future rewards and punishment, the power of miracles, the austere (pure) morals of the Christian, and the compact church organization. But these causes are themselves the effects of a

cause which Gibbon ignores, namely, the divine truth of Christianity, the perfection of Christ's teaching and Christ's example. See the strictures of Dr. John Henry Newman, *Grammar of Assent*, 445 sq., and Dr. George P. Fisher, *The Beginnings of Christianity*, p. 543 sqq. "The zeal" [of the early Christians], says Fisher, "was zeal for a person, and for a cause identified with Him; the belief in the future life sprang out of faith in Him who had died and risen again, and ascended to Heaven; the miraculous powers of the early disciples were consciously connected with the same source; the purification of morals, and the fraternal unity, which lay at the basis of ecclesiastical association among the early Christians, were likewise the fruit of their relation to Christ, and their common love to Him. The victory of Christianity in the Roman world was the victory of Christ, who was lifted up that He might draw all men unto Him."

LECKY (*Hist. of Europ. Morals*, I. 412) goes deeper than Gibbon, and accounts for the success of early Christianity by its intrinsic excellency and remarkable adaptation to the wants of the times in the old Roman empire. "In the midst of this movement," he says, "Christianity gained its ascendancy, and we can be at no loss to discover the cause of its triumph. No other religion, under such circumstances, had ever combined so many distinct elements of power and attraction. Unlike the Jewish religion, it was bound by no local ties, and was equally adapted for every nation and for every class. Unlike Stoicism, it appealed in the strongest manner to the affections, and offered all the charm of a sympathetic worship. Unlike the Egyptian religion, it united with its distinctive teaching a pure and noble system of ethics, and proved itself capable of realizing it in action. It proclaimed, amid a vast movement of social and national amalgamation, the universal brotherhood of mankind. Amid the softening influence of philosophy and civilization, it taught the supreme sanctity of love. To the slave, who had never before exercised so large an influence over Roman religious life, it was the religion of the suffering and the oppressed. To the philosopher it was at once the echo of the highest ethics of the later Stoics, and the expansion of the best teaching of the school of Plato. To a world thirsting for prodigy, it offered a history replete with wonders more strange than those of Apollonius; while the Jew and the Chaldean could scarcely rival its exorcists, and the legends of continual miracles circulated among its followers. To a world deeply conscious of political dissolution, and prying eagerly and anxiously into the future, it proclaimed with a thrilling power the immediate destruction of the globe—the glory of all its friends, and the damnation of all its foes. To a world that had grown very weary gazing on the cold passionless grandeur which Cato realized, and which Lucan sung, it presented an ideal of compassion and of love—an ideal destined for centuries to draw around it all that was greatest, as well as all that was noblest upon earth—a Teacher who could weep by the sepulchre of His friend, who was

touched with the feeling of our infirmities. To a world, in fine, distracted by hostile creeds and colliding philosophies, it taught its doctrines, not as a human speculation, but as a Divine revelation, authenticated much less by reason than by faith. 'With the heart man believeth unto righteousness;' 'He that doeth the will of my Father will know the doctrine, whether it be of God;' 'Unless you believe you cannot understand;' 'A heart naturally Christian;' 'The heart makes the theologian,' are the phrases which best express the first action of Christianity upon the world. Like all great religions, it was more concerned with modes of feeling than with modes of thought. The chief cause of its success was the congruity of its teaching with the spiritual nature of mankind. It was because it was true of the moral sentiments of the age, because it represented faithfully the supreme type of excellence to which men were then tending, because it corresponded with their religious wants, aims, and emotions, because the whole spiritual being could then expand and expatiate under its influence, that it planted its roots so deeply in the hearts of men."

MÉRIVALE (*Convers. of the Rom. Emp.*, Preface) traces the conversion of the Roman empire chiefly to four causes: 1) the external evidence of the apparent fulfilment of recorded prophecy and miracles to the truth of Christianity; 2) the internal evidence of satisfying the acknowledged need of a redeemer and sanctifier; 3) the goodness and holiness manifested in the lives and deaths of the primitive believers; 4) the temporal success of Christianity under Constantine, which "turned the mass of mankind, as with a sweeping revolution, to the rising sun of revealed truth in Christ Jesus."

RENAN discusses the reasons for the victory of Christianity in the 31st chapter of his *Marc-Aurèle* (Paris 1882), pp. 561-588. He attributes it chiefly "to the new discipline of life," and "the moral reform," which the world required, which neither philosophy nor any of the established religions could give. The Jews indeed rose high above the corruptions of the times. "*Gloire éternelle et unique, qui doit faire oublier bien des folies et des violences! Les Juifs sont les révolutionnaires du 1er et du 2e siècle de notre ère.*" They gave to the world Christianity. "*Les populations se précipitèrent, par une sorte du mouvement instinctif, dans une secte qui satisfaisait leur aspirations les plus intimes et ouvrait des espérances infinies.*" Renan makes much account of the belief in immortality and the offer of complete pardon to every sinner, as allurements to Christianity; and, like Gibbon, he ignores its real power as a religion of *salvation*. This accounts for its success not only in the old Roman empire, but in every country and nation where it has found a home.

§ 6. Means of Propagation.

It is a remarkable fact that after the days of the Apostles no names of great missionaries are mentioned till the opening of

the middle ages, when the conversion of nations was effected or introduced by a few individuals as St. Patrick in Ireland, St. Columba in Scotland, St. Augustine in England, St. Boniface in Germany, St. Ansgar in Scandinavia, St. Cyril and Methodius among the Slavonic races. There were no missionary societies, no missionary institutions, no organized efforts in the ante-Nicene age; and yet in less than 300 years from the death of St. John the whole population of the Roman empire which then represented the civilized world was nominally christianized.

To understand this astonishing fact, we must remember that the foundation was laid strong and deep by the apostles themselves. The seed scattered by them from Jerusalem to Rome, and fertilized by their blood, sprung up as a bountiful harvest. The word of our Lord was again fulfilled on a larger scale: "One soweth, and another reapeth. I sent you to reap that whereon ye have not labored: others have labored, and ye are entered into their labor" (John 4: 38).

Christianity once established was its own best missionary. It grew naturally from within. It attracted people by its very presence. It was a light shining in darkness and illuminating the darkness. And while there were no professional missionaries devoting their whole life to this specific work, every congregation was a missionary society, and every Christian believer a missionary, inflamed by the love of Christ to convert his fellow-men. The example had been set by Jerusalem and Antioch, and by those brethren who, after the martyrdom of Stephen, "were scattered abroad and went about preaching the Word."¹ Justin Martyr was converted by a venerable old man whom he met walking on the shore of the sea. "Every Christian laborer," says Tertullian, "both finds out God and manifests him, though Plato affirms that it is not easy to discover the Creator, and difficult when He is found to make him known to all." Celsus scoffingly remarks that fullers and workers in wool and leather, rustic and ignorant persons, were

¹ Acts 8: 4; 11: 19.

the most zealous propagators of Christianity, and brought it first to women and children. Women and slaves introduced it into the home-circle. It is the glory of the gospel that it is preached to the poor and by the poor to make them rich. Origen informs us that the city churches sent their missionaries to the villages. The seed grew up while men slept, and brought forth fruit, first the blade, then the ear, after that the full corn in the ear. Every Christian told his neighbor, the laborer to his fellow-laborer, the slave to his fellow-slave, the servant to his master and mistress, the story of his conversion, as a mariner tells the story of the rescue from shipwreck.

The gospel was propagated chiefly by living preaching and by personal intercourse; to a considerable extent also through the sacred Scriptures, which were early propagated and translated into various tongues, the Latin (North African and Italian), the Syriac (the Curetonian and the Peshito), and the Egyptian (in three dialects, the Memphitic, the Thebaic, and the Bashmuric). Communication among the different parts of the Roman empire from Damascus to Britain was comparatively easy and safe. The highways built for commerce and for the Roman legions, served also the messengers of peace and the silent conquests of the cross. Commerce itself at that time, as well as now, was a powerful agency in carrying the gospel and the seeds of Christian civilization to the remotest parts of the Roman empire.

The particular mode, as well as the precise time, of the introduction of Christianity into the several countries during this period is for the most part uncertain, and we know not much more than the fact itself. No doubt much more was done by the apostles and their immediate disciples, than the New Testament informs us of. But on the other hand the mediæval tradition assigns an apostolic origin to many national and local churches, which cannot have arisen before the second or third century. Even Joseph of Arimathæa, Nicodemus, Dionysius the Areopagite, Lazarus, Martha and Mary were turned by the legend into missionaries to foreign lands.

§ 7. *Extent of Christianity in the Roman Empire.*

Justin Martyr says, about the middle of the second century : "There is no people, Greek or barbarian, or of any other race, by whatsoever appellation or manners they may be distinguished, however ignorant of arts or agriculture, whether they dwell in tents or wander about in covered wagons — among whom prayers and thanksgivings are not offered in the name of the crucified Jesus to the Father and Creator of all things." Half a century later, Tertullian addresses the heathen defiantly : "We are but of yesterday, and yet we already fill your cities, islands, camps, your palace, senate and forum ; we have left to you only your temples."¹ These, and similar passages of Irenæus and Arnobius, are evidently rhetorical exaggerations. Origen is more cautious and moderate in his statements. But it may be fairly asserted, that about the end of the third century the name of Christ was known, revered, and persecuted in every province and every city of the empire. Maximian, in one of his edicts, says that "almost all" had abandoned the worship of their ancestors for the new sect.

In the absence of statistics, the number of the Christians must be purely a matter of conjecture. In all probability it amounted at the close of the third and the beginning of the fourth century to nearly one-tenth or one-twelfth of the subjects of Rome, that is to about ten millions of souls.

But the fact, that the Christians were a closely united body, fresh, vigorous, hopeful, and daily increasing, while the heathen were for the most part a loose aggregation, daily diminishing, made the true prospective strength of the church much greater.

The propagation of Christianity among the barbarians in the provinces of Asia and the north-west of Europe beyond the

¹ "*Sola vobis relinquimus templa.*" *Apol.* c. 37. Long before Tertullian the heathen Pliny, in his famous letter to Trajan (*Epp.* x. 97) had spoken of "*desolata templa*" and "*sacra solemnia diu intermissa*," in consequence of the spread of the Christian superstition throughout the cities and villages of Asia Minor.

Roman empire, was at first, of course, too remote from the current of history to be of any great immediate importance. But it prepared the way for the civilization of those regions, and their subsequent position in the world.

NOTES.

Gibbon and Friedländer (III. 531) estimate the number of Christians at the accession of Constantine (306) probably too low at one-twentieth; Matter and Robertson too high at one-fifth of his subjects. Some older writers, misled by the hyperbolical statements of the early Apologists, even represent the Christians as having at least equalled if not exceeded the number of the heathen worshippers in the empire. In this case common prudence would have dictated a policy of toleration long before Constantine. Mosheim, in his *Hist. Commentaries*, etc. (Murdock's translation I. p. 274 sqq.) discusses at length the number of Christians in the second century without arriving at definite conclusions. Chastel estimates the number at the time of Constantine at $\frac{1}{10}$ in the West, $\frac{1}{5}$ in the East, $\frac{1}{3}$ on an average (*Hist. de la destruct. du paganisme dans l'Orient*, p. 36).

§ 8. Christianity in Asia.

Asia was the cradle of Christianity, as it was of humanity and civilization. The apostles themselves had spread the new religion over Palestine, Syria, and Asia Minor. According to the younger Pliny, under Trajan, the temples of the gods in Asia Minor were almost forsaken, and animals of sacrifice found hardly any purchasers. In the second century Christianity penetrated to Edessa in Mesopotamia, and some distance into Persia, Media, Bactria, and Parthia; and in the third, into Armenia and Arabia. Paul himself had, indeed, spent three years in Arabia, but probably in contemplative retirement, preparing for his apostolic ministry. There is a legend, that the apostles Thomas and Bartholomew carried the gospel to India. But a more credible statement is, that the Christian teacher Pantænus of Alexandria journeyed to that country about 190, and that in the fourth century churches were found there.

The transfer of the seat of power from Rome to Constantinople, and the founding of the East Roman empire under Constantine I. gave to Asia Minor, and especially to Constan-

tinople, a commanding importance in the history of the Church for several centuries. The seven Œcumenical Councils from 325 to 787 were all held in that city or its neighborhood, and the doctrinal controversies on the Trinity and the person of Christ were carried on chiefly in Asia Minor, Syria, and Egypt.

In the mysterious providence of God those lands of the Bible and the early church have been conquered by the prophet of Mecca, the Bible replaced by the Koran, and the Greek church reduced to a condition of bondage and stagnation; but the time is not far distant when the East will be regenerated by the undying spirit of Christianity. A peaceful crusade of devoted missionaries preaching the pure gospel and leading holy lives will reconquer the holy land and settle the Eastern question.

§ 9. *Christianity in Egypt.*

In Africa Christianity gained firm foothold first in Egypt, and there probably as early as the apostolic age. The land of the Pharaohs, of the pyramids and sphinxes, of temples and tombs, of hieroglyphics and mummies, of sacred bulls and crocodiles, of despotism and slavery, is closely interwoven with sacred history from the patriarchal times, and even imbedded in the Decalogue as "the house of bondage." It was the home of Joseph and his brethren, and the cradle of Israel. In Egypt the Jewish Scriptures were translated more than two hundred years before our era, and this Greek version used even by Christ and the apostles, spread Hebrew ideas throughout the Roman world, and is the mother of the peculiar idiom of the New Testament. Alexandria was full of Jews, the literary as well as commercial centre of the East, and the connecting link between the East and the West. There the largest libraries were collected; there the Jewish mind came into close contact with the Greek, and the religion of Moses with the philosophy of Plato and Aristotle. There Philo wrote, while Christ taught in Jerusalem and Galilee, and his works were destined to exert a great influence on Christian exegesis through the Alexandrian fathers.

Mark, the evangelist, according to ancient tradition, laid the foundation of the church of Alexandria. The Copts in old Cairo, the Babylon of Egypt, claim this to be the place from which Peter wrote his first epistle (5: 13); but he must mean either the Babylon on the Euphrates, or the mystic Babylon of Rome. Eusebius names, as the first bishops of Alexandria, Annianos (A. D. 62-85), Abilio (to 98), and Kerdon (to 110). This see naturally grew up to metropolitan and patriarchal importance and dignity. As early as the second century a theological school flourished in Alexandria, in which Clement and Origen taught as pioneers in biblical learning and Christian philosophy. From Lower Egypt the gospel spread to Middle and Upper Egypt and the adjacent provinces, perhaps (in the fourth century) as far as Nubia, Ethiopia, and Abyssinia. At a council of Alexandria in the year 235, twenty bishops were present from the different parts of the land of the Nile.

During the fourth century Egypt gave to the church the Arian heresy, the Athanasian orthodoxy, and the monastic piety of St. Antony and St. Pachomius, which spread with irresistible force over Christendom.

The theological literature of Egypt was chiefly Greek. Most of the early manuscripts of the Greek Scriptures—including probably the invaluable Sinaitic and Vatican MSS.—were written in Alexandria. But already in the second century the Scriptures were translated into the vernacular language, in three different dialects. What remains of these versions is of considerable weight in ascertaining the earliest text of the Greek Testament.

The Christian Egyptians are the descendants of the Pharaonic Egyptians, but largely mixed with negro and Arab blood. Christianity never fully penetrated the nation, and was almost swept away by the Mohammedan conquest under the Caliph Omar (640), who burned the magnificent libraries of Alexandria under the plea that if the books agreed with the Koran, they were useless, if not, they were pernicious and fit for destruction. Since that time Egypt almost disappears from

church history, and is still groaning, a house of bondage under new masters. The great mass of the people are Moslems, but the Copts—about half a million of five and a half millions—perpetuate the nominal Christianity of their ancestors, and form a mission field for the more active churches of the West.

§ 10. Christianity in North Africa.

BÖTTIGER: *Geschichte der Carthager*. Berlin, 1827.

MOVERS: *Die Phönizier*. 1840-56, 4 vols. (A standard work.)

TH. MOMMSEN: *Röm. Geschichte*, I. 489 sqq. (Book III. chs. 1-7, 5th ed.)

N. DAVIS: *Carthage and her Remains*. London & N. York, 1861.

R. BOSWORTH SMITH: *Carthage and the Carthaginians*. Lond. 2nd ed. 1879. By the same: *Rome and Carthage*. N. York, 1880.

OTTO MELTZER: *Geschichte der Karthager*. Berlin, vol. I. 1879.

These books treat of the secular history of the ancient Carthaginians, but help to understand the situation and antecedents. JULIUS LLOYD; *The North African Church*. London, 1880. Comes down to the Moslem Conquest.

The inhabitants of the provinces of Northern Africa were of Semitic origin, with a language similar to the Hebrew, but became Latinized in customs, laws, and language under the Roman rule. The church in that region therefore belongs to Latin Christianity, and plays a leading part in its early history.

The Phœnicians, a remnant of the Canaanites, were the English of ancient history. They carried on the commerce of the world; while the Israelites prepared the religion, and the Greeks the civilization of the world. Three small nations, in small countries, accomplished a more important work than the colossal empires of Assyria, Babylon, and Persia, or even Rome. Occupying a narrow strip of territory on the Syrian coast, between Mount Lebanon and the sea, the Phœnicians sent their merchant vessels from Tyre and Sidon to all parts of the old world from India to the Baltic, rounded the Cape of Good Hope two thousand years before Vasco de Gama, and brought back sandal wood from Malabar, spices from Arabia, ostrich plumes from Nubia, silver from Spain, gold from the Niger, iron from Elba, tin from England, and amber from the Baltic.

They furnished Solomon with cedars from Lebanon, and helped him to build his palace and the temple. They founded on the northernmost coast of Africa, more than eight hundred years before Christ, the colony of Carthage.¹ From that favorable position they acquired the control over the northern coast of Africa from the pillars of Hercules to the Great Syrtes, over Southern Spain, the islands of Sardinia and Sicily, and the whole Mediterranean sea. Hence the inevitable rivalry between Rome and Carthage, divided only by three days' sail; hence the three Punic wars which, in spite of the brilliant military genius of Hannibal, ended in the utter destruction of the capital of North Africa (B. C. 146).² "*Delenda est Carthago*," was the narrow and cruel policy of the elder Cato. But under Augustus, who carried out the wiser plan of Julius Cæsar, there arose a new Carthage on the ruins of the old, and became a rich and prosperous city, first heathen, then Christian, until it was captured by the barbarous Vandals (A. D. 439), and finally destroyed by a race cognate to its original founders, the Mohammedan Arabs (647). Since that time "a mournful and solitary silence" once more brooded over its ruins.³

Christianity reached proconsular Africa in the second, perhaps already at the close of the first century, we do not know when and how. There was constant intercourse with Italy. It spread very rapidly over the fertile fields and burning sands of Mauritania and Numidia. Cyprian could assemble in 258 a

¹ The Phœnician or Punic name is *Karthada*, the Greek *Karchedon* (*Καρχηδών*), the Latin *Carthago*. It means New City (Neapolis). The word *Kereth* or *Carth* enters also into the names of other cities of Phœnician origin, as *Cirta* in Numidia.

² See the masterly comparison of Rome and Carthage by Mommsen, Book III. ch. 1. (vol. I. 506), of the destruction of Carthage in Book IV. ch. 1. (vol. II. 22 sqq.)

³ On the ruins of Carthage see the descriptions of N. Davis and B. Smith (*Rome and Carthage*, ch. xx. 283-291). The recent conquest of Tunis by France (1881) gives new interest to the past of that country, and opens a new chapter for its future. Smith describes Tunis as the most Oriental of Oriental towns, with a gorgeous mixture of races—Arabs, Turks, Moors, and Negroes—held together by the religion of Islam.

synod of eighty-seven bishops, and in 308 the schismatical Donatists held a council of two hundred and seventy bishops at Carthage. The dioceses, of course, were small in those days.

The oldest Latin translation of the Bible, miscalled "*Itala*" (the basis of Jerome's "*Vulgata*"), was made probably in Africa and for Africa, not in Rome and for Rome, where at that time the Greek language prevailed among Christians. Latin theology, too, was not born in Rome, but in Carthage. Tertullian is its father. Minutius Felix, Arnobius, and Cyprian bear witness to the activity and prosperity of African Christianity and theology in the third century. It reached its highest perfection during the first quarter of the fifth century in the sublime intellect and burning heart of St. Augustin, the greatest among the fathers, but soon after his death (430) it was buried first beneath the Vandal barbarism, and in the seventh century by the Mohammedan conquest. Yet his writings led Christian thought in the Latin church throughout the dark ages, stimulated the Reformers, and are a vital force to this day.

§ 11. *Christianity in Europe.*

"Westward the course of Empire takes its way."

This law of history is also the law of Christianity. From Jerusalem to Rome was the march of the apostolic church. Further and further West has been the progress of missions ever since.

The church of ROME was by far the most important one for all the West. According to Eusebius, it had in the middle of the third century one bishop, forty-six presbyters, seven deacons with as many sub-deacons, forty-two acolyths, fifty readers, exorcists, and door-keepers, and fifteen hundred widows and poor persons under its care. From this we might estimate the number of members at some fifty or sixty thousand, i. e. about one-twentieth of the population of the city, which cannot be accurately determined indeed, but must have exceeded one million during the reign of the Antonines.¹ The strength of Chris-

¹ Gibbon, in his thirty-first chapter, and Milman estimate the population of

tianity in Rome is also confirmed by the enormous extent of the catacombs where the Christians were buried.

From Rome the church spread to all the cities of ITALY. The first Roman provincial synod, of which we have information, numbered twelve bishops under the presidency of Telesphorus (142-154). In the middle of the third century (255) Cornelius of Rome held a council of sixty bishops.

The persecution of the year 177 shows the church already planted in the south of GAUL in the second century. Christianity came hither probably from the East; for the churches of Lyons and Vienne were intimately connected with those of Asia Minor, to which they sent a report of the persecution, and Irenæus, bishop of Lyons, was a disciple of Polycarp of Smyrna. Gregory of Tours states, that in the middle of the third century seven missionaries were sent from Rome to Gaul. One of these, Dionysius, founded the first church of Paris, died a martyr at Montmartre, and became the patron saint of France. Popular superstition afterwards confounded him with Dionysius the Areopagite, who was converted by Paul at Athens.

SPAIN probably became acquainted with Christianity likewise in the second century, though no clear traces of churches and bishops there meet us till the middle of the third. The council of Elvira in 306 numbered nineteen bishops. The apostle Paul once formed the plan of a missionary journey to Spain, and according to Clement of Rome he preached there, if we understand that country to be meant by "the limit of the West," to which he says that Paul carried the gospel.¹ But there is no trace of his labors in Spain on record. The legend, in defiance of all chronology, derives Christianity in that country from James

Rome at 1,200,000; Hoeck (on the basis of the Monumentum Ancyranum), Zumpt and Howson at two millions; Bunsen somewhat lower; while Dureau de la Malle tries to reduce it to half a million, on the ground that the walls of Servius Tullius occupied an area only one-fifth of that of Paris. But these walls no longer marked the limits of the city since its reconstruction after the conflagration under Nero, and the suburbs stretched to an unlimited extent into the country. Comp. vol. I. p. 359.

¹ Rom. 15: 24; Clem. B. *Ad Cor.* c. 5 (τὸ πέρας τῆς ὁδοῦ).

the Elder, who was executed in Jerusalem in 44, and is said to be buried at Campostella, the famous place of pilgrimage, where his bones were first discovered under Alphonso II., towards the close of the eighth century.¹

When Irenæus speaks of the preaching of the gospel among the GERMANS and other barbarians, who, "without paper and ink, have salvation written in their hearts by the Holy Spirit," he can refer only to the parts of Germany belonging to the Roman empire (*Germania cisrhœnana*).

According to Tertullian BRITAIN also was brought under the power of the cross towards the end of the second century. The Celtic church existed in England, Ireland, and Scotland, independently of Rome, long before the conversion of the Anglo-saxons by the Roman mission of Augustine; it continued for some time after that event and sent offshoots to Germany, France, and the Low Countries, but was ultimately at different dates incorporated with the Roman church. It took its origin probably from Gaul, and afterwards from Italy also. The legend traces it to St. Paul and other apostolic founders. The venerable Bede (†735) says, that the British king Lucius (about 167) applied to the Roman bishop Eleutherus for missionaries. At the council of Arles, in Gaul (Arelate), in 314, three British bishops, of Eboracum (York), Londinum (London), and Colonia Londinensium (i. e. either Lincoln or more probably Colchester), were present.

The conversion of the barbarians of Northern and Western Europe did not begin in earnest before the fifth and sixth centuries, and will claim our attention in the history of the Middle Ages.

¹ See J. B. Gams (R. C.): *Die Kirchengeschichte von Spanien*, Regensburg, 1862-1879, 5 vols. The first vol. (422 pages) is taken up with the legendary history of the first three centuries. 75 pages are given to the discussion of Paul's journey to Spain. Gams traces Christianity in that country to Paul and to seven disciples of the Apostles sent to Rome, namely, Torquatus, Ctesiphon, Secundus, Indaletius, Cæcilius, Hesychius, and Euphrasius (according to the Roman Martyrologium, edited by Baronius, 1586).

CHAPTER II.

PERSECUTION OF CHRISTIANITY AND CHRISTIAN MARTYRDOM.

"*Semen est sanguis Christianorum.*"—Tertullian.

§ 12. *Literature.*

I. SOURCES:

EUSEBIUS: *H. E.*, particularly Lib. viii. and ix.

LACTANTIUS: *De Mortibus persecutorum.*

The Apologies of JUSTIN MARTYR, MINUCIUS FELIX, TERTULLIAN, and ORIGEN, and the Epistles of CYPRIAN.

THEOD. RUINART: *Acta primorum martyrum sincera et selecta.* Par. 1689; 2nd ed. Amstel. 1718 (covering the first four cent.).

Several biographies in the *Acta Sanctorum.* Antw. 1648 sqq.

Les Acts des martyrs depuis l'origine de l'église Chrétienne jusqu'à nos temps. Traduits et publiés par les R.R. P.P. bénédictins de la congrég. de France. Par. 1857 sqq.

The *Martyrol. Hieronymianum* (ed. Florentini, Luc. 1668, and in Migne's *Patrol. Lat. Opp. Hieron.* xi. 434 sqq.); the *Martyrol. Romanum* (ed. Baron. 1586), the *Menolog. Græc.* (ed. Urbini, 1727); DE ROSSI, ROLLÉ, and other works on the Roman Catacombs.

II. WORKS.

JOHN FOXE (or Fox, d. 1587): *Acts and Monuments of the Church* (commonly called *Book of Martyrs*), first pub. at Strasburg 1554, and Basle 1559; first complete ed. fol. London 1563; 9th ed. fol. 1684, 8 vols. fol.; best ed. by G. Townsend, Lond. 1843, 8 vols. 8o.; also many abridged editions. Foxe exhibits the entire history of Christian martyrdom, including the Protestant martyrs of the middle age and the sixteenth century, with polemical reference to the church of Rome as the successor of heathen Rome in the work of bloody persecution. "The Ten Roman persecutions" are related in the first volume.

KORTHOLDT: *De persecutionibus eccl. primævæ.* Kiel, 1629.

GIBBON: chap. xvi.

MÜNTER: *Die Christen im heidnischen Hause vor Constantin.* Copenh. 1828.

SCHUMANN VON MANSEGG (R. C.): *Die Verfolgungen der ersten christlichen Kirche.* Vienna, 1821.

- W. AD. SCHMIDT: *Geschichte der Denk u. Glaubensfreiheit im ersten Jahrhundert der Kaiserherrschaft und des Christenthums.* Berl. 1847.
- KRITZLER: *Die Heldenzeiten des Christenthums.* Vol. i. *Der Kampf mit dem Heidenthum.* Leipz. 1856.
- FR. W. GASS: *Das christl. Märtyrerthum in den ersten Jahrhunderten.* 1859-60 (in Niedner's "Zeitschrift für hist. Theol." for 1859, pp. 323-392, and 1860, pp. 315-381).
- F. OVERBECK: *Gesetze der röm. Kaiser gegen die Christen*, in his *Studien zur Gesch. der alten Kirche*, I. Chemn.: 1875.
- B. AUBÉ: *Histoire des persécutions de l'église jusqu' à la fin des Antonins.* 2nd ed. Paris 1875 (Crowned by the Académie française). By the same: *Histoire des persécutions de l'église, La polémique païenne à la fin du II. siècle.* Paris 1878.
- K. WIESELER: *Die Christenverfolgungen der Cäsaren, hist. und chronol. untersucht.* Gütersloh, 1878.
- GERH. UHLHORN: *Der Kampf des Christenthums mit dem Heidenthum.* 3d ed. Stuttgart. 1879. Engl. transl. by Prof. Smyth & Ropes. N. York 1879.
- THEOD. KEIM: *Rom und das Christenthum.* Ed. after the author's death by H. Ziegler. Berlin 1881.
- E. RENAN: *Marc-Aurèle.* Paris 1882, pp. 53-69.

§ 13. General Survey.

The persecutions of Christianity during the first three centuries appear like a long tragedy: first, foreboding signs; then a succession of bloody assaults of heathenism upon the religion of the cross; amidst the dark scenes of fiendish hatred and cruelty the bright exhibitions of suffering virtue; now and then a short pause; at last a fearful and desperate struggle of the old pagan empire for life and death, ending in the abiding victory of the Christian religion. Thus this bloody baptism of the church resulted in the birth of a Christian world. It was a repetition and prolongation of the crucifixion, but followed by a resurrection.

Our Lord had predicted this conflict, and prepared His disciples for it. "Behold, I send you forth as sheep in the midst of wolves. They will deliver you up to councils, and in their synagogues they will scourge you; yea and before governors and kings shall ye be brought for My sake, for a testimony to them and to the Gentiles. And brother shall deliver up

brother to death, and the father his child: and children shall rise up against parents, and cause them to be put to death. And ye shall be hated of all men for My name's sake: but he that endureth to the end, the same shall be saved." These, and similar words, as well as the recollection of the crucifixion and resurrection, fortified and cheered many a confessor and martyr in the dungeon and at the stake.

The persecutions proceeded first from the Jews, afterwards from the Gentiles, and continued, with interruptions, for nearly three hundred years. History reports no mightier, longer and deadlier conflict than this war of extermination waged by heathen Rome against defenseless Christianity. It was a most unequal struggle, a struggle of the sword and of the cross; carnal power all on one side, moral power all on the other. It was a struggle for life and death. One or the other of the combatants must succumb. A compromise was impossible. The future of the world's history depended on the downfall of heathenism and the triumph of Christianity. Behind the scene were the powers of the invisible world, God and the prince of darkness. Justin, Tertullian, and other confessors traced the persecutions to Satan and the demons, though they did not ignore the human and moral aspects; they viewed them also as a punishment for past sins, and a school of Christian virtue. Some denied that martyrdom was an evil, since it only brought Christians the sooner to God and the glory of heaven. As war brings out the heroic qualities of men, so did the persecutions develop the patience, the gentleness, the endurance of the Christians, and prove the world-conquering power of faith.

Number of Persecutions.

From the fifth century it has been customary to reckon ten great persecutions: under Nero, Domitian, Trajan, Marcus Aurelius, Septimius Severus, Maximinus, Decius, Valerian, Aurelian, and Diocletian.¹ This number was suggested by the

¹ So Augustin, *De Civit. Dei*, xviii. 52, but he mentions Antoninus for Marcus Aurelius. Lactantius counts six, Sulpitius Severus nine persecutions.

ten plagues of Egypt taken as types (which, however, befell the enemies of Israel, and present a contrast rather than a parallel), and by the ten horns of the Roman beast making war with the Lamb, taken for so many emperors.¹ But the number is too great for the general persecutions, and too small for the provincial and local. Only two imperial persecutions—those of Decius and Diocletian—extended over the empire; but Christianity was always an illegal religion from Trajan to Constantine, and subject to annoyance and violence everywhere.² Some persecuting emperors—Nero, Domitian, Galerius, were monstrous tyrants, but others—Trajan, Marcus Aurelius, Decius, Diocletian—were among the best and most energetic emperors, and were prompted not so much by hatred of Christianity as by zeal for the maintenance of the laws and the power of the government. On the other hand, some of the most worthless emperors—Commodus, Caracalla, and Helio-gabalus—were rather favorable to the Christians from sheer caprice. All were equally ignorant of the true character of the new religion.

The Result.

The long and bloody war of heathen Rome against the church, which is built upon a rock, utterly failed. It began in Rome under Nero, it ended near Rome at the Milvian bridge, under Constantine. Aiming to exterminate, it purified. It called forth the virtues of Christian heroism, and resulted in the consolidation and triumph of the new religion. The

¹ Ex. chs. 5-10; Rev. 17: 12 sqq. Augustin felt the impropriety of referring to the Egyptian plagues, and calls this a mere conjecture of the human mind which "sometimes hits the truth and sometimes is deceived." He also rectifies the number by referring to the persecutions before Nero, mentioned in the N. T., and to the persecutions after Diocletian, as that of Julian, and the Arian emperors. "When I think of these and the like things," he says, "it does not seem to me that the number of persecutions with which the church is to be tried can be definitely stated."

² On the relation of Christianity to the laws of the Roman empire, see Aubé, *De la légalité du Christianisme dans l'empire Romain au Ier siècle*. Paris 1866.

philosophy of persecution is best expressed by the terse word of Tertullian, who lived in the midst of them, but did not see the end: "The blood of the Christians is the seed of the Church."

Religious Freedom.

The blood of persecution is also the seed of civil and religious liberty. All sects, schools, and parties, whether religious or political, when persecuted, complain of injustice and plead for toleration; but few practise it when in power. The reason of this inconsistency lies in the selfishness of human nature, and in mistaken zeal for what it believes to be true and right. Liberty is of very slow, but sure growth.

The ancient world of Greece and Rome generally was based upon the absolutism of the state, which mercilessly trampled under foot the individual rights of men. It is Christianity which taught and acknowledged them.

The Christian apologists first proclaimed, however imperfectly, the principle of freedom of religion, and the sacred rights of conscience. Tertullian, in prophetic anticipation as it were of the modern Protestant theory, boldly tells the heathen that everybody has a natural and inalienable right to worship God according to his conviction, that all compulsion in matters of conscience is contrary to the very nature of religion, and that no form of worship has any value whatever except as far as it is a free voluntary homage of the heart.¹

Similar views in favor of religious liberty were expressed by

¹ See the remarkable passage *Ad Scapulam*, c. 2: "*Tamen humani juris et naturalis potestatis est unicuique quod putaverit colere, nec alii obest, aut prodest alterius religio. Sed nec religionis est cogere religionem, quæ sponte suscipi debeat non vi, cum et hostiæ ab animo libenti expostulentur. Ita etsi nos compuleritis ad sacrificandum, nihil prestabitis diis vestris. Ab invititis enim sacrificia non desiderant, nisi si contentiosi sunt; contentiosus autem deus non est.*" Comp. the similar passage in Tertullian, *Apolog.* c. 24, where after enumerating the various forms of idolatry which enjoyed free toleration in the empire he continues: "*Videte enim ne et hoc ad irreligiositatis elogium concurrat, adimere libertatem religionis et interdicare optionem divinitatis, ut non liceat mihi colere quem velim sed cogar colere quem nolim. Nemo se ab invito coli volet, ne homo quidem.*"

Justin Martyr,¹ and at the close of our period by Lactantius, who says: "Religion cannot be imposed by force; the matter must be carried on by words rather than by blows, that the will may be affected. Torture and piety are widely different; nor is it possible for truth to be united with violence, or justice with cruelty. Nothing is so much a matter of free will as religion."²

The Church, after its triumph over paganism, forgot this lesson, and for many centuries treated all Christian heretics, as well as Jews and Gentiles, just as the old Romans had treated the Christians, without distinction of creed or sect. Every state-church from the times of the Christian emperors of Constantinople to the times of the Russian Czars and the South American Republics, has more or less persecuted the dissenters, in direct violation of the principles and practice of Christ and the apostles, and in carnal misunderstanding of the spiritual nature of the kingdom of heaven.

§ 14. *Jewish Persecution.*

SOURCES.

- I. DIO CASSIUS: *Hist. Rom.* LXVIII. 32; LXIX. 12-14; JUSTIN M.: *Apol.* I. 31, 47; EUSEBIUS: *H. Eccl.* IV. 2. and 6. Rabbinical traditions in Derenbourg: *Histoire de la Palestine depuis Cyrus jusqu' à Adrien* (Paris 1867), pp. 402-438.
- II. FR. MÜNTER: *Der Jüdische Krieg unter Trajan u. Hadrian.* Altona and Leipz. 1821.
- DEYLING: *Aeliae Capitol. origines et historiae.* Lips. 1743.
- EWALD: *Gesch. des Volkes Israel*, VII. 373-432.
- MILMAN: *History of the Jews*, Books 18 and 20.
- GRÄTZ: *Gesch. der Juden.* Vol. IV. (Leipz. 1866).
- SCHÜREER: *Neutestam. Zeitgeschichte* (1874), pp. 350-367.

The Jews had displayed their obstinate unbelief and bitter hatred of the gospel in the crucifixion of Christ, the stoning of Stephen, the execution of James the Elder, the repeated incarcerations of Peter and John, the wild rage against Paul, and the

¹ *Apol.* I. c. 2, 4, 12.

² *Instit. div.* V. 20.

murder of James the Just. No wonder that the fearful judgment of God at last visited this ingratitude upon them in the destruction of the holy city and the temple, from which the Christians found refuge in Pella.

But this tragical fate could break only the national power of the Jews, not their hatred of Christianity. They caused the death of Symeon, bishop of Jerusalem (107); they were particularly active in the burning of Polycarp of Smyrna; and they inflamed the violence of the Gentiles by calumniating the sect of the Nazarenes.

The Rebellion under Bar-Cochba. Jerusalem again Destroyed.

By severe oppression under Trajan and Hadrian, the prohibition of circumcision, and the desecration of Jerusalem by the idolatry of the pagans, the Jews were provoked to a new and powerful insurrection (A. D. 132-135). A pseudo-Messiah, Bar-Cochba (son of the stars, Num. 24: 17), afterwards called Bar-Cosiba (son of falsehood), put himself at the head of the rebels, and caused all the Christians who would not join him to be most cruelly murdered. But the false prophet was defeated by Hadrian's general in 135, more than half a million of Jews were slaughtered after a desperate resistance, immense numbers sold into slavery, 985 villages and 50 fortresses levelled to the ground, nearly all Palestine laid waste, Jerusalem again destroyed, and a Roman colony, Aelia Capitolina, erected on its ruins, with an image of Jupiter and a temple of Venus. The coins of Aelia Capitolina bear the images of Jupiter Capitolinus, Bacchus, Serapis, Astarte.

Thus the native soil of the venerable religion of the Old Testament was ploughed up, and idolatry planted on it. The Jews were forbidden to visit the holy spot of their former metropolis upon pain of death.¹ Only on the anniversary of the destruc-

¹ As reported by Justin M., a native of Palestine and a cotemporary of this destruction of Jerusalem. *Apol.* I. c. 47. Tertullian also says (*Adv. Jud.* c. 13), that "an interdict was issued forbidding any one of the Jews to linger in the confines of the district."

tion were they allowed to behold and bewail it from a distance. The prohibition was continued under Christian emperors to their disgrace. Julian the Apostate, from hatred of the Christians, allowed and encouraged them to rebuild the temple, but in vain. Jerome, who spent the rest of his life in monastic retirement at Bethlehem (d. 419), informs us in pathetic words that in his day old Jewish men and women, "*in corporibus et in habitu suam iram Domini demonstrantes*," had to buy from the Roman watch the privilege of weeping and lamenting over the ruins from mount Olivet in sight of the cross, "*ut qui quondam emerant sanguinem Christi, emant lacrymas suas, et ne fletus quidem eis gratuitus sit.*"¹ The same sad privilege the Jews now enjoy under Turkish rule, not only once a year, but every Friday beneath the very walls of the Temple, now replaced by the Mosque of Omar.²

The Talmud.

After this the Jews had no opportunity for any further independent persecution of the Christians. Yet they continued to circulate horrible calumnies on Jesus and his followers. Their learned schools at Tiberias and Babylon nourished this bitter hostility. The Talmud, *i. e.* Doctrine, of which the first part (the Mishna, *i. e.* Repetition) was composed towards the end of the second century, and the second part (the Gemara, *i. e.* Completion) in the fourth century, well represents the Judaism of its day, stiff, traditional, stagnant, and anti-Christian. Subsequently the Jerusalem Talmud was eclipsed by the Babylonian (430-521), which is four times larger, and a still more distinct expression of Rabbinism. The terrible imprecation on apostates

¹ *Ad Zephan. 1: 15* sqq. Schürer quotes the passage, p. 363.

² "The Wailing Place of the Jews" at the cyclopean foundation wall is just outside of the Mosque El Aska, and near "Robinson's Arch." There I saw on Good Friday, 1877, a large number of Jews, old and young, men and women, venerable rabbis with patriarchal beards, others dirty and repulsive, kissing the stone wall and watering it with their tears, while repeating from Hebrew Bibles and prayer-books the Lamentations of Jeremiah, Psalms 76th and 79th, and various litanies. Comp. Tobler, *Topographie von Jerusalem*, I. 629.

(*precatio hæreticorum*), designed to deter Jews from going over to the Christian faith, comes from the second century, and is stated by the Talmud to have been composed at Jafna, where the Sanhedrin at that time had its seat, by the younger Rabbi Gamaliel.

The Talmud is the slow growth of several centuries. It is a chaos of Jewish learning, wisdom, and folly, a continent of rubbish, with hidden pearls of true maxims and poetic parables. Delitzsch calls it "a vast debating club, in which there hum confusedly the myriad voices of at least five centuries, a unique code of laws, in comparison with which the law-books of all other nations are but lilliputian." It is the Old Testament misinterpreted and turned against the New, in fact, though not in form. It is a rabbinical Bible without inspiration, without the Messiah, without hope. It shares the tenacity of the Jewish race, and, like it, continues involuntarily to bear testimony to the truth of Christianity. A distinguished historian, on being asked what is the best argument for Christianity, promptly replied: the Jews.¹

Unfortunately this people, still remarkable even in its tragical end, was in many ways cruelly oppressed and persecuted by the Christians after Constantine, and thereby only confirmed in its fanatical hatred of them. The hostile legislation began with the prohibition of the circumcision of Christian slaves, and the intermarriage between Jews and Christians, and proceeded already in the fifth century to the exclusion of the Jews from all civil and political rights in Christian states. Even our enlightened age has witnessed the humiliating spectacle of a cruel *Judenhetze* in Germany and still more in Russia (1881). But through all changes of fortune God has preserved this ancient

¹ On the literature of the Talmud see the articles in Herzog, and in McClintock & Strong, and especially Schürer, *Neutestamentl. Zeitgeschichte* (Leipz. 1874), pp. 45-49, to which I add Schürer's essay: *Die Predigt Jesu Christi in ihrem Verhältnisse zum Alten Testament und zum Judenthum*, Darmstadt, 1882. The relation of the Talmud to the Sermon on the Mount and the few resemblances is discussed by Pick in McClintock & Strong, vol. ix. 571.

race as a living monument of his justice and his mercy; and he will undoubtedly assign it an important part in the consummation of his kingdom at the second coming of Christ.

§ 15. *Causes of Roman Persecution.*

The policy of the Roman government, the fanaticism of the superstitious people, and the self-interest of the pagan priests conspired for the persecution of a religion which threatened to demolish the tottering fabric of idolatry; and they left no expedients of legislation, of violence, of craft, and of wickedness untried, to blot it from the earth.

To glance first at the relation of the Roman state to the Christian religion.

Roman Toleration.

The policy of imperial Rome was in a measure tolerant. It was repressive, but not preventive. Freedom of thought was not checked by a censorship, education was left untrammelled to be arranged between the teacher and the learner. The armies were quartered on the frontiers as a protection of the empire, not employed at home as instruments of oppression, and the people were diverted from public affairs and political discontent by public amusements. The ancient religions of the conquered races were tolerated as far as they did not interfere with the interests of the state. The Jews enjoyed special protection since the time of Julius Cæsar.

Now so long as Christianity was regarded by the Romans as a mere sect of Judaism, it shared the hatred and contempt, indeed, but also the legal protection bestowed on that ancient national religion. Providence had so ordered it that Christianity had already taken root in the leading cities of the empire before its true character was understood. Paul had carried it, under the protection of his Roman citizenship, to the ends of the empire, and the Roman proconsul at Corinth refused to interfere with his activity on the ground that it was an internal question of the Jews, which did not belong to his tribunal. The heathen

statesmen and authors, even down to the age of Trajan, including the historian Tacitus and the younger Pliny, considered the Christian religion as a vulgar superstition, hardly worthy of their notice.

But it was far too important a phenomenon, and made far too rapid progress to be long thus ignored or despised. So soon as it was understood as a *new* religion, and as, in fact, claiming universal validity and acceptance, it was set down as unlawful and treasonable, a *religio illicita*; and it was the constant reproach of the Christians: "You have no right to exist."¹

Roman Intolerance.

We need not be surprised at this position. For with all its professed and actual tolerance the Roman state was thoroughly interwoven with heathen idolatry, and made religion a tool of its policy. Ancient history furnishes no example of a state without some religion and form of worship. Rome makes no exception to the general rule. "The Romano-Hellenic state-religion" (says Mommsen), "and the Stoic state-philosophy inseparably combined with it were not merely a convenient instrument for every government—oligarchy, democracy, or monarchy—but altogether indispensable, because it was just as impossible to construct the state wholly without religious elements as to discover any new state religion adapted to form a substitute for the old."²

The piety of Romulus and Numa was believed to have laid the foundation of the power of Rome. To the favor of the deities of the republic, the brilliant success of the Roman arms was attributed. The priests and Vestal virgins were supported out of the public treasury. The emperor was ex-officio the *pontifex maximus*, and even an object of divine worship. The gods were national; and the eagle of Jupiter Capitolinus moved as a good genius before the world-conquering legions. Cicero lays down as a principle of legislation, that no one should be allowed

¹ "Non licet esse vos." Tertullian, *Apol.* 4.

² *The History of Rome*, translated by Dickson, vol. IV. P. II. p. 559.

to worship foreign gods, unless they were recognized by public statute.¹ Mæcenæus counselled Augustus: "Honor the gods according to the custom of our ancestors, and compel² others to worship them. Hate and punish those who bring in strange gods."

It is true, indeed, that *individuals* in Greece and Rome enjoyed an almost unlimited liberty for expressing sceptical and even impious sentiments in conversation, in books and on the stage. We need only refer to the works of Aristophanes, Lucian, Lucretius, Plautus, Terence. But a sharp distinction was made then, as often since by Christian governments, between liberty of private thought and conscience, which is inalienable and beyond the reach of legislation, and between the liberty of public worship, although the latter is only the legitimate consequence of the former. Besides, wherever religion is a matter of state-legislation and compulsion, there is almost invariably a great deal of hypocrisy and infidelity among the educated classes, however often it may conform outwardly, from policy, interest or habit, to the forms and legal acquirements of the established creed.

The senate and emperor, by special edicts, usually allowed conquered nations the free practice of their worship even in Rome; not, however, from regard for the sacred rights of conscience, but merely from policy, and with the express prohibition of making proselytes from the state religion; hence severe laws were published from time to time against transition to Judaism.

Obstacles to the Toleration of Christianity.

To Christianity, appearing not as a national religion, but claiming to be the only true universal one, making its converts among every people and every sect, attracting Greeks and Romans in much larger numbers than Jews, refusing to compromise with any form of idolatry, and threatening in fact the very existence of the Roman state religion, even this limited

¹ "*Nisi publice adscitos.*"

² ἀνάγκασε, according to Dion Cassius.

toleration could not be granted. The same all-absorbing political interest of Rome dictated here the opposite course, and Tertullian is hardly just in charging the Romans with inconsistency for tolerating the worship of all false gods, from whom they had nothing to fear, and yet prohibiting the worship of the only true God who is Lord over all.¹ Born under Augustus, and crucified under Tiberius at the sentence of the Roman magistrate, Christ stood as the founder of a spiritual universal empire at the head of the most important epoch of the Roman power, a rival not to be endured. The reign of Constantine subsequently showed that the free toleration of Christianity was the death-blow to the Roman state religion.

Then, too, the conscientious refusal of the Christians to pay divine honors to the emperor and his statue, and to take part in any idolatrous ceremonies at public festivities, their aversion to the imperial military service, their disregard for politics and depreciation of all civil and temporal affairs as compared with the spiritual and eternal interests of man, their close brotherly union and frequent meetings, drew upon them the suspicion of hostility to the Cæsars and the Roman people, and the unpardonable crime of conspiracy against the state.²

The common people also, with their polytheistic ideas, abhorred the believers in the one God as atheists and enemies of the gods. They readily gave credit to the slanderous rumors of all sorts of abominations, even incest and cannibalism, practised by the Christians at their religious assemblies and love-feasts, and regarded the frequent public calamities of that age as punishments justly inflicted by the angry gods for the disregard of their worship. In North Africa arose the proverb: "If God does not send rain, lay it to the Christians." At every inundation, or drought, or famine, or pestilence, the fanatical populace cried: "Away with the atheists! To the lions with the Christians!"

¹ *Apolog.* c. 24 at the close: "*Apud eos quodvis colere jus est præter Deum verum, quasi non hic magis omnium sit Deus, cuius omnes sumus.*"

² Hence the reproachful designation, "*Hostes Cæsarum et populi Romani.*"

Finally, persecutions were sometimes started by priests, jugglers, artificers, merchants, and others, who derived their support from the idolatrous worship. These, like Demetrius at Ephesus, and the masters of the sorceress at Philippi, kindled the fanaticism and indignation of the mob against the new religion for its interference with their gains.¹

§ 16. *Condition of the Church before the Reign of Trajan.*

The imperial persecutions before Trajan belong to the Apostolic age, and have been already described in the first volume. We allude to them here only for the sake of the connection. Christ was born under the first, and crucified under the second Roman emperor. Tiberius (A. D. 14-37) is reported to have been frightened by Pilate's account of the crucifixion and resurrection, and to have proposed to the senate, without success, the enrolment of Christ among the Roman deities; but this rests only on the questionable authority of Tertullian. The edict of Claudius (42-54) in the year 53, which banished the Jews from Rome, fell also upon the Christians, but as Jews with whom they were confounded. The fiendish persecution of Nero (54-68) was intended as a punishment, not for Christianity, but for alleged incendiarism (64). It showed, however, the popular temper, and was a declaration of war against the new religion. It became a common saying among Christians that Nero would reappear as Antichrist.

During the rapidly succeeding reigns of Galba, Otho, Vitellius, Vespasian, and Titus, the church, so far as we know, suffered no very serious persecution.

But Domitian (81-96), a suspicious and blasphemous tyrant, accustomed to call himself and to be called "Lord and God," treated the embracing of Christianity as a crime against the state, and condemned to death many Christians, even his own cousin, the consul Flavius Clemens, on the charge of atheism; or confiscated their property, and sent them, as in the case of

¹ Comp. Acts. 19: 24; 16: 16.

Domitilla, the wife of the Clemens just mentioned, into exile. His jealousy also led him to destroy the surviving descendants of David; and he brought from Palestine to Rome two kinsmen of Jesus, grandsons of Judas, the "brother of the Lord," but seeing their poverty and rustic simplicity, and hearing their explanation of the kingdom of Christ as not earthly, but heavenly, to be established by the Lord at the end of the world, when He should come to judge the quick and the dead, he let them go. Tradition (in Irenæus, Eusebius, Jerome) assigns to the reign of Domitian the banishment of John to Patmos (which, however, must be assigned to the reign of Nero), together with his miraculous preservation from death in Rome (attested by Tertullian), and the martyrdom of Andrew, Mark, Onesimus, and Dionysius the Areopagite. The Martyrium of Ignatius speaks of "many persecutions under Domitian."

His humane and justice-loving successor, Nerva (96-98), recalled the banished, and refused to treat the confession of Christianity as a political crime, though he did not recognise the new religion as a *religio licita*.

§ 17. Trajan. A. D. 98-117—Christianity Forbidden—Martyrdom of Ignatius.

I. SOURCES.

PLINIUS, jun.: *Epist.* x. 96 and 97 (al. 97 sq.)

EUSEBIUS: *H. E.* III. 11, 32, 36.

Acta Martyrii Ignatii, in RUINART, p. 8 sqq.; recent edd. by THEOD.

ZAHN, in *Patrum Apost. Opera* (by Oscar von Gebhardt, Harnack, & Zahn, Lips. 1876), vol. II. pp. 301 sqq.; and FUNK, *Opera Patr. Apost.*, Tüb. (1878 and 1881), vol. I. 254-265; vol. II. 218-275.

JUSTIN MART.: *Apol.* I. c. 68.

II. WORKS.

On Trajan's reign in general see TILLEMONT, *Histoire des Empereurs*; MERIVALE, *History of the Romans under the Empire*.

On Ignatius: THEOD. ZAHN: *Ignatius von Antiochien*. Gotha 1878 (631 pages).

ADOLF HARNACK: *Die Zeit des Ignatius*. Leipzig, 1878 (90 pages). Comp. KEIM, *l. c.* 510-562; UHLHORN in Herzog, VI. 688-694 (new ed.). The Epistles of Ignatius will be discussed in chapter XIII. on ecclesiastical literature, § 164 and 165.

Trajan, one of the best and most praiseworthy emperors, honored as the "father of his country," but, like his friends, Tacitus and Pliny, wholly ignorant of the nature of Christianity, was the first to pronounce it in form a proscribed religion, as it had been all along in fact. He revived the rigid laws against all secret societies,¹ and the provincial officers applied them to the Christians, on account of their frequent meetings for worship. His decision regulated the governmental treatment of the Christians for more than a century. It is embodied in his correspondence with the younger Pliny, who was governor of Bithynia in Asia Minor from 109 to 111.

Pliny came in official contact with the Christians. He himself saw in that religion only a "depraved and immoderate superstition," and could hardly account for its popularity. He reported to the emperor that this superstition was constantly spreading, not only in the cities, but also in the villages of Asia Minor, and captivated people of every age, rank, and sex, so that the temples were almost forsaken, and the sacrificial victims found no sale. To stop this progress, he condemned many Christians to death, and sent others, who were Roman citizens, to the imperial tribunal. But he requested of the emperor further instructions, whether, in these efforts, he should have respect to age; whether he should treat the mere bearing of the Christian name as a crime, if there were no other offence.

To these inquiries Trajan replied: "You have adopted the right course, my friend, with regard to the Christians; for no universal rule, to be applied to all cases, can be laid down in this matter. They should not be searched for; but when accused and convicted, they should be punished; yet if any one denies that he has been a Christian, and proves it by action, namely,

¹ Or prohibited clubs. This is the meaning of *hetaeria* (*ἑταιρεία* or *τραπλία*), *collegium*, *sodalitas*, *sodalitium*, company, brotherhood, especially a private political club or union for party purposes. The Roman sodalities were festive clubs or lodges, and easily available for political and revolutionary ends. Trajan refused to sanction a company of firemen in Nicomedia (Pliny, *Ep.* X. 34, al. 48). Comp. Büttner, *Geschichte der politischen Hetaerien in Athen* (1840), and Mommsen, *De collegiis et sodaliciis Romanorum* (Kiel, 1843).

by worshipping our gods, he is to be pardoned upon his repentance, even though suspicion may still cleave to him from his antecedents. But anonymous accusations must not be admitted in any criminal process; it sets a bad example, and is contrary to our age" (*i. e.* to the spirit of Trajan's government).

This decision was much milder than might have been expected from a heathen emperor of the old Roman stamp. Tertullian charges it with self-contradiction, as both cruel and lenient, forbidding the search for Christians and yet commanding their punishment, thus declaring them innocent and guilty at the same time. But the emperor evidently proceeded on political principles, and thought that a transient and contagious enthusiasm, as Christianity in his judgment was, could be suppressed sooner by leaving it unnoticed, than by openly assailing it. He wished to ignore it as much as possible. But every day it forced itself more and more upon public attention, as it spread with the irresistible power of truth.

This rescript might give occasion, according to the sentiment of governors, for extreme severity towards Christianity as a secret union and a *religio illicita*. Even the humane Pliny tells us that he applied the rack to tender women. Syria and Palestine suffered heavy persecutions in this reign.

Symeon, bishop of Jerusalem, and, like his predecessor James, a kinsman of Jesus, was accused by fanatical Jews, and crucified A. D. 107, at the age of a hundred and twenty years.

In the same year (or according to others in 115) the distinguished bishop Ignatius of Antioch was condemned to death, transported to Rome, and thrown before wild beasts in the Colosseum. The story of his martyrdom has no doubt been much embellished, but it must have some foundation in fact, and is characteristic of the legendary martyrology of the ancient church.

Our knowledge of Ignatius is derived from his disputed epistles,¹ and a few short notices by Irenæus and Origen. While

¹ In three recensions, two in Greek, and one in Syriac.

his existence, his position in the early Church, and his martyrdom are admitted, everything else about him is called in question. How many epistles he wrote, and when he wrote them, how much truth there is in the account of his martyrdom, and when it took place, when it was written up, and by whom—all are undecided, and the subject of protracted controversy. He was, according to tradition, a pupil of the Apostle John, and by his piety so commended himself to the Christians in Antioch that he was chosen bishop, the second after Peter, Euodius being the first. But although he was a man of apostolic character, and governed the church with great care, he was personally not satisfied, until he should be counted worthy of sealing his testimony with his blood, and thereby attaining to the highest seat of honor. The coveted crown came to him at last, and his eager and morbid desire for martyrdom was gratified. The emperor Trajan, in 107, came to Antioch, and there threatened with persecution all who refused to sacrifice to the gods. Ignatius was tried for this offence, and proudly confessed himself a "Theophorus" ("bearer of God") because, as he said, he had Christ within his breast. Trajan condemned him to be thrown to the lions at Rome. The sentence was executed with all haste. Ignatius was immediately bound in chains, and taken over land and sea, accompanied by ten soldiers, whom he denominated his "leopards," from Antioch to Seleucia, to Smyrna, where he met Polycarp, and whence he wrote to the churches, particularly to that in Rome; to Troas, to Neapolis, through Macedonia to Epirus, and so over the Adriatic to Rome. He was received by the Christians there with every manifestation of respect, but would not allow them to avert or even to delay his martyrdom. It was on the 20th day of December, 107, that he was thrown into the amphitheater: immediately the wild beasts fell upon him, and soon naught remained of his body but a few bones, which were carefully conveyed to Antioch as an inestimable treasure. The faithful friends who had accompanied him from home dreamed that night that they saw him; some that he was standing by Christ, dropping with sweat as if he had just come

from his great labor. Comforted by these dreams they returned with the relics to Antioch.

Note on the Date of the Martyrdom of Ignatius.

The date A. D. 107 has in its favor the common reading of the best of the martyrologies of Ignatius (*Colbertinum*) ἐννάτῳ ἔτει, in the ninth year, i. e. from Trajan's accession, A. D. 98. From this there is no good reason to depart in favor of another reading νήντατον ἔτος, the nineteenth year, i. e. A. D. 116. Jerome makes the date A. D. 109. The fact that the names of the Roman consuls are correctly given in the *Martyrium Colbertinum*, is proof of the correctness of the date, which is accepted by such critics as Ussher, Tillemont, Möhler, Hefele, and Wieseler. The latter, in his work *Die Christenverfolgungen der Cäsaren*, 1878, pp. 125 sqq., finds confirmation of this date in Eusebius's statement that the martyrdom took place before Trajan came to Antioch, which was in his 10th year; in the short interval between the martyrdom of Ignatius and Symeon, son of Klopas (*Hist. Ecc.* III. 32); and finally, in the letter of Tiberian to Trajan, relating how many pressed forward to martyrdom—an effect, as Wieseler thinks, of the example of Ignatius. If 107 be accepted, then another supposition of Wieseler is probable. It is well known that in that year Trajan held an extraordinary triumph on account of his Dacian victories: may it not have been that the blood of Ignatius reddened the sand of the amphitheatre at that time?

But 107 A. D. is by no means universally accepted. Keim (*Rom und das Christenthum*, p. 540) finds the *Martyrium Colbertinum* wrong in stating that the death took place under the first consulate of Sura and the second of Senecio, because in 107 Sura was consul for the third and Senecio for the fourth time. He also objects that Trajan was not in Antioch in 107, but in 115, on his way to attack the Armenians and Parthians. But this latter objection falls to the ground if Ignatius was not tried by Trajan personally in Antioch. Harnack (*Die Zeit des Ignatius*, p. 71) concludes that it is only barely possible that Ignatius was martyred under Trajan.

§ 18. *Hadrian. A. D. 117-138.*

See GREGOROVIVS: *Gesch. Hadrians und seiner Zeit* (1851); RENAN: *L'Église chrétienne* (1879), 1-44, and WAGENMANN in Herzog, vol. v. 501-506.

Hadrian, of Spanish descent, a relative of Trajan, and adopted by him on his death-bed, was a man of brilliant talents and careful education, a scholar, an artist, a legislator and administrator, and altogether one of the ablest among the Roman emperors, but of very doubtful morality, governed by changing moods, attracted in opposite directions, and at last lost in self-contradictions and utter disgust of life. His mausoleum (Moles Hadriani) still adorns, as the castle of Sant' Angelo, the bridge of the Tiber in Rome. He is represented both as a friend and foe of the church. He was devoted to the religion.

of the state, bitterly opposed to Judaism, indifferent to Christianity from ignorance of it. He insulted the Jews and the Christians alike by erecting temples of Jupiter and Venus over the site of the temple and the supposed spot of the crucifixion. He is said to have directed the Asiatic proconsul to check the popular fury against the Christians, and to punish only those who should be, by an orderly judicial process, convicted of transgression of the laws.¹ But no doubt he regarded, like Trajan, the mere profession of Christianity as itself such a transgression.

The Christian apologies, which took their rise under this emperor, indicate a very bitter public sentiment against the Christians, and a critical condition of the church. The least encouragement from Hadrian would have brought on a bloody persecution. Quadratus and Aristides addressed their pleas for their fellow-Christians to him, we do not know with what effect.

Later tradition assigns to his reign the martyrdom of St. Eustachius, St. Symphorosa and her seven sons, of the Roman bishops Alexander and Telesphorus, and others whose names are scarcely known, and whose chronology is more than doubtful.

§ 19. *Antoninus Pius. A. D. 137-161. The Martyrdom of Polycarp.*

COMTE DE CHAMPAGNY (R. C.): *Les Antonins*. (A. D. 69-180), Paris, 1863; 3d ed. 1874. 3 vols., 8vo. MERIVALE'S *History*.

MARTYRIUM POLYCARPI (the oldest, simplest, and least objectionable of the martyr-acts), in a letter of the church of Smyrna to the Christians in Pontus or Phrygia, preserved by EUSEBIUS, *H. Eccl.* IV. 15, and separately edited from various MSS. by Ussher (1647) and in nearly all the editions of the Apostolic Fathers, especially by O. v. Gebhardt, Harnack, and Zahn, II. 132-168, and Prolog. L-LVI. The recension of the text is by Zahn, and departs from the text of the Bollandists in 98 places. Comp. Harnack: *Die Zeit*

¹ The rescript of Hadrian to Minucius Fundanus (124 or 128), preserved by Eusebius in a Greek translation, (*H. E.*, IV. 8, 9), is almost an edict of toleration, and hence doubted by Baur, Keim, Aubé, but defended as genuine by Neander (I. 101, Engl. ed.), Wieseler, Funk, Renan (*l. c.* p. 32 sqq.). Renan represents Hadrian as a *ricur spirituel*, un *Lucien couronné prenant le monde comme un jeu frivole* (p. 6), and therefore more favorable to religious liberty than the serious Trajan and the pious Antoninus and Marcus Aurelius. But Friedländer (III. 492) accepts the report of Pausanias that Hadrian was zealously devoted to the worship of the gods. Keim regards him as a visionary and hostile to Christianity as well as to Judaism.

des Ignatius (1878), pp. 77-90. See also the Greek *Vita et Conversatio Polycarpi*, in Funk, II. 315 sqq.

IGNATIUS: *Ad Polycarpum*.

IRENÆUS: *Adv. Hær.* III. 3. 4. His letter to Florinus in EUSEB. v. 20.

POLYCRATES of Ephesus (c. 190), in EUSEB. v. 24.

On the date of Polycarp's death:

WADDINGTON: *Mémoire sur la chronologie de la vie du rhéteur Aélius Aristide* (in "Mém. de l' Acad. des inscript. et belles lettres," Tom. XXVI. Part II. 1867, pp. 232 sqq.), and in *Fastes des provinces Asiatiques*, 1872, 219 sqq.

WIESELER: *Das Martyrium Polykarp's und dessen Chronologie*, in his *Christenverfolgungen*, etc. (1878), 34-87.

KEIM: *Die Zwölf Märtyrer von Smyrna und der Tod des Bishops Polykarp*, in his *Aus dem Urchristenthum* (1878), 92-133.

E. EGLI: *Das Martyrium des Polyk.*, in Hilgenfeld's "Zeitschrift für wissensch. Theol." for 1882, pp. 227 sqq.

Antoninus Pius protected the Christians from the tumultuous violence which broke out against them on account of the frequent public calamities. But the edict ascribed to him, addressed to the deputies of the Asiatic cities, testifying to the innocence of the Christians, and holding them up to the heathen as models of fidelity and zeal in the worship of God, could hardly have come from an emperor, who bore the honorable title of Pius for his conscientious adherence to the religion of his fathers;¹ and in any case he could not have controlled the conduct of the provincial governors and the fury of the people against an illegal religion.

The persecution of the church at Smyrna and the martyrdom of its venerable bishop, which was formerly assigned to the year 167, under the reign of Marcus Aurelius, took place, according to more recent research, under Antoninus in 155, when Statius Quadratus was proconsul in Asia Minor.² Polycarp was a per-

¹ He always offered sacrifice himself as high-priest. Friedländer III. 492.

² So Waddington, who has made it very probable that Quadratus was Roman consul A. D. 142, and proconsul in Asia from 154 to 155, and that Polycarp died Feb. 23, 155. He is followed by Renan (1873), Ewald (1873), Aubé (1875), Hilgenfeld (1874), Lightfoot (1875), Lipsius (1874), O. v. Gebhardt (1875), Zahn, Harnack (1876), and Egli (1882). But Wieseler and Keim learnedly defend the old date (166-167), which rests on the authority of Eusebius and Jerome, and was held by Masson and Clinton. Uhlhorn (p. 290) puts the martyrdom April 6, 166.

sonal friend and pupil of the Apostle John, and chief presbyter of the church at Smyrna, where a plain stone monument still marks his grave. He was the teacher of Irenæus of Lyons, and thus the connecting link between the apostolic and post-apostolic ages. As he died 155 at an age of eighty-six years or more, he must have been born A. D. 69, a year before the destruction of Jerusalem, and may have enjoyed the friendship of St. John for twenty years or more. This gives additional weight to his testimony concerning apostolic traditions and writings. We have from him a beautiful epistle which echoes the apostolic teaching, and will be noticed in another chapter.

Polycarp steadfastly refused before the proconsul to deny his King and Saviour, whom he had served six and eighty years, and from whom he had experienced nothing but love and mercy. He joyfully went up to the stake, and amidst the flames praised God for having deemed him worthy "to be numbered among his martyrs, to drink the cup of Christ's sufferings, unto the eternal resurrection of the soul and the body in the incorruption of the Holy Spirit." The slightly legendary account in the letter of the church of Smyrna states, that the flames avoided the body of the saint, leaving it unharmed, like gold tried in the fire; also the Christian bystanders insisted, that they perceived a sweet odor, as of incense. Then the executioner thrust his sword into the body, and the stream of blood at once extinguished the flame. The corpse was burned after the Roman custom, but the bones were preserved by the church, and held more precious than gold and diamonds. The death of this last witness of the apostolic age checked the fury of the populace, and the proconsul suspended the persecution.

§ 20. *Persecutions under Marcus Aurelius.* A. D. 161-180.

MARCUS AURELIUS ANTONINUS: (b. 121, d. 180): *Tōν εἰς ἑαυτὸν βιβλία* *ιβ*, or *Meditations*. It is a sort of diary or common place book, in which the emperor wrote down, towards the close of his life, partly amid the turmoil of war "in the land of the Quadi" (on the Danube in Hungary), for his self-improvement, his own moral reflections) together with striking maxims of wise and virtuous men.

Ed. princeps by *Xylander* Zurich 1558, and Basle 1568; best ed. with a new Latin trans. and very full notes by *Gataker*, Lond. 1643, Cambr. 1652, and with additional notes from the French by *Dacier*, Lond. 1697 and 1704. New ed. of the Greek text by *J. M. Schultz*, 1802 (and 1821); another by *Adamantius Corais*, Par. 1816. English translation by *George Long*, Lond. 1863, republ. Boston (revised edition, London 1880. There are translations into most European languages, one in Italian by the Cardinal Francis Barberini (nephew of Pope Urban VIII), who dedicated his translation to his own soul, "to make it redder than his purple at the sight of the virtues of this Gentile." Comp. also the letters of the famous rhetorician *M. Corn. Fronto*, the teacher of M. Aurelius, discovered and published by Angelo Mai, Milan 1815 and Rome 1823 (*Epistolarum ad Marcum Cæsarem Lib. V.*, etc.) They are, however, very unimportant, except so far as they show the life-long congenial friendship between the amiable teacher and his imperial pupil.

ARNOLD BODEK: *Marcus Aurelius Antoninus als Freund und Zeitgenosse des Rabbi Jehuda ha-Nasi*. Leipz. 1868. (Traces the connection of this emperor with the Jewish monotheism and ethics.)

E. RENAN: *Marc-Aurèle et la fin du monde antique*. Paris 1882. This is the seventh and the last vol. of his work of twenty years' labor on the "Histoire des Origines du Christianisme." It is as full of genius, learning and eloquence, and as empty of positive faith as the former volumes. He closes the period of the definite formation of Christianity in the middle of the second century, but proposes in a future work to trace it back to Isaiah (or the "Great Unknown") as its proper founder.

EUSEBIUS: *H. E. V.* 1-3. The Letter of the Churches of Lyons and Vienne to the Christians of Asia Minor. Also in ROUTH'S *Reliquiæ Sacræ* I. 295-324 (2nd ed.)

On the legend of the *Legio fulminatrix* see TERTULLIAN: *Apol.* 5; EUSEB.: *H. E. V.* 5.; and DION CASS.: *Hist.* LXXI. 8, 9.

Marcus Aurelius, the philosopher on the throne, was a well-educated, just, kind, and amiable emperor, and reached the old Roman ideal of self-reliant Stoic sanctity, but for this very reason he had no sympathy with Christianity, and probably regarded it as an absurd and fanatical superstition. He had no room in his cosmopolitan philanthropy for the purest and most innocent of his subjects, many of whom served in his own army. He was flooded with apologies of Melito, Miltiades, Athenagoras in behalf of the persecuted Christians, but turned a deaf ear to them. Only once, in his *Meditations*, does he

allude to them, and then with scorn, tracing their noble enthusiasm for martyrdom to "sheer obstinacy" and love for theatrical display.¹ His excuse is ignorance. He probably never read a line of the New Testament, nor of the apologies addressed to him.²

Belonging to the later Stoical school, which believed in an immediate absorption after death into the Divine essence, he considered the Christian doctrine of the immortality of the soul, with its moral consequences, as vicious and dangerous to the welfare of the state. A law was passed under his reign, punishing every one with exile who should endeavor to influence people's mind by fear of the Divinity, and this law was, no doubt, aimed at the Christians.³ At all events his reign was a stormy time for the church, although the persecutions cannot be directly traced to him. The law of Trajan was sufficient to justify the severest measures against the followers of the "forbidden" religion.

About the year 170 the apologist Melito wrote: "The race

¹ *Med.* xi. 8: Μὴ κατὰ ψιλὴν παράταξιν, ὥς οἱ Χριστιανοὶ, ἀλλὰ λελογισμένως καὶ σεμνῶς καὶ, ὥστε καὶ ἄλλον πείσαι, ἀτραγώδως.

² Bodek (*l. c.* p. 82 sqq.) maintains, contrary to the common view, that Marcus Aurelius was personally indifferent to heathenism and Christianity, that his acts of respect for the worship of the gods, related by Capitolinus and others, were simply official tributes, and that the persecutions of the Christians did probably not originate with him. "*Er war eben so wenig ein Feind des Christenthums, als er ein Feind des Heidenthums war: was wie religiöser Fanatismus aussah, war in Wahrheit nur politischer Conservatismus*" (p. 87). On the other hand, Bodek claims for him a friendly sympathy with Judaism in its monotheistic and ethical features, and assumes that he had intimate relations with a Jewish rabbi. But there is nothing in his twelve books "*De seipso et ad seipsum*," which is inconsistent with an enlightened heathen piety under the unconscious influence of Christianity, yet hostile to it partly from ignorance of its true nature, partly from a conscientious regard to his duty as the pontifex maximus of the state religion. The same was the case with Trajan and Decius. Renan (p. 262 sqq.) calls the Meditations of Marcus Aurelius "*le livre le plus purement humain qu'il y ait. Il ne tranche aucune question controversée. En théologie, Marc Aurèle flotte entre le déisme pur, le polythéisme interprété dans un sens physique, à la façon des stoïciens, et une sorte de panthéisme cosmique.*"

³ "*Si quis aliquid fecerit, quo leves hominum animi superstitione numinis terrerentur, Divus Marcus hujusmodi homines in insulam relegari rescipit.*" *Dig. XLVIII. tit. 19. 1. 13*, quoted by Lecky in *Hist. of Europ. Morals*, I. 448.

of the worshippers of God in Asia is now persecuted by new edicts as it never has been heretofore; shameless, greedy sycophants, finding occasion in the edicts, now plunder the innocent day and night." The empire was visited at that time by a number of conflagrations, a destructive flood of the Tiber, an earthquake, insurrections, and particularly a pestilence, which spread from Ethiopia to Gaul. This gave rise to bloody persecutions, in which government and people united against the enemies of the gods and the supposed authors of these misfortunes. Celsus expressed his joy that "the demon" [of the Christians] was "not only reviled, but banished from every land and sea," and saw in this judgment the fulfilment of the oracle: "the mills of the gods grind late." But at the same time these persecutions, and the simultaneous literary assaults on Christianity by Celsus and Lucian, show that the new religion was constantly gaining importance in the empire.

In 177, the churches of Lyons and Vienne, in the South of France, underwent a severe trial. Heathen slaves were forced by the rack to declare, that their Christian masters practised all the unnatural vices which rumor charged them with; and this was made to justify the exquisite tortures to which the Christians were subjected. But the sufferers, "strengthened by the fountain of living water from the heart of Christ," displayed extraordinary faith and steadfastness, and felt, that "nothing can be fearful, where the love of the Father is, nothing painful, where shines the glory of Christ."

The most distinguished victims of this Gallic persecution were the bishop Pothinus, who, at the age of ninety years, and just recovered from a sickness, was subjected to all sorts of abuse, and then thrown into a dismal dungeon, where he died in two days; the virgin Blandina, a slave, who showed almost superhuman strength and constancy under the most cruel tortures, and was at last thrown to a wild beast in a net; Ponticus, a boy of fifteen years, who could be deterred by no sort of cruelty from confessing his Saviour. The corpses of the martyrs, which covered the streets, were shamefully mutilated, then burned, and

the ashes cast into the Rhone, lest any remnants of the enemies of the gods might desecrate the soil. At last the people grew weary of slaughter, and a considerable number of Christians survived. The martyrs of Lyons distinguished themselves by true humility, disclaiming in their prison that title of honor, as due only, they said, to the faithful and true witness, the First-born from the dead, the Prince of life (Rev. 1: 5), and to those of his followers who had already sealed their fidelity to Christ with their blood.

About the same time a persecution of less extent appears to have visited Autun (Augustodunum) near Lyons. Symphorinus, a young man of good family, having refused to fall down before the image of Cybele, was condemned to be beheaded. On his way to the place of execution his own mother called to him: "My son, be firm and fear not that death, which so surely leads to life. Look to Him who reigns in heaven. To-day is thy earthly life not taken from thee, but transferred by a blessed exchange into the life of heaven."

The story of the "thundering legion"¹ rests on the fact of a remarkable deliverance of the Roman army in Hungary by a sudden shower, which quenched their burning thirst and frightened their barbarian enemies, A. D. 174. The heathens, however, attributed this not to the prayers of the Christian soldiers, but to their own gods. The emperor himself prayed to Jupiter: "This hand, which has never yet shed human blood, I raise to thee." That this event did not alter his views respecting the Christians, is proved by the persecution in South Gaul, which broke out three years later.

Of isolated cases of martyrdom in this reign, we notice that of Justin Martyr, at Rome, in the year 166. His death is traced to the machinations of Crescens, a Cynic philosopher.

Marcus Aurelius was succeeded by his cruel and contemptible son, Commodus (180-192), who wallowed in the mire of every

¹ *Legio fulminatrix*, κεραυνόφορος. The twelfth legion bore the name *Fulminata* as far back as the time of Trajan; and hence it cannot be derived from this event.

sensual debauchery, and displayed at the same time like Nero the most ridiculous vanity as dancer and singer, and in the character of buffoon; but he was accidentally made to favor the Christians by the influence of a concubine,¹ Marcia, and accordingly did not disturb them. Yet under his reign a Roman senator, Apollonius, was put to death for his faith.

§ 21. *Condition of the Church from Septimius Severus to Philip the Arabian.* A. D. 193-249.

CLEMENS ALEX.: *Strom.* II. 414. TERTULL.: *Ad Scapulam*, c. 4, 5; *Apol.* (A. D. 198), c. 7, 12, 30, 37, 49.

Respecting the Alexandrian martyrs comp. EUSEB.: VI. 1 and 5.

The Acts of the Carthaginian martyrs, which contain their *ipsisima verba* from their diaries in the prisons, but bear a somewhat Montanistic stamp, see in RUINART, p. 90 sqq.

LAMPRIIDIUS: *Vita Alex. Severi*, c. 22, 29, 49.

On Philip the Arabian see EUSEB.: VI. 34, 36. HIERON.: *Chron.* ad ann. 246.

J. J. MÜLLER: *Staat und Kirche unter Alex. Severus.* Zürich 1874.

F. GÖRRES: *Kaiser Alex. Severus und das Christenthum.* Leipz. 1877.

The same: *Kritische Untersuch. über die Christenverfolgung des röm. Kaisers Maximinus I. des Thraciens.* 1876.

With Septimius Severus (193-211), who was of Punic descent and had a Syrian wife, a line of emperors (Caracalla, Heliogabalus, Alexander Severus) came to the throne, who were rather Oriental than Roman in their spirit, and were therefore far less concerned than the Antonines to maintain the old state religion. Yet towards the close of the second century there was no lack of local persecutions; and Clement of Alexandria wrote of those times: "Many martyrs are daily burned, confined, or beheaded, before our eyes."

In the beginning of the third century (202) Septimius Severus, turned perhaps by Montanistic excesses, enacted a rigid law against the further spread both of Christianity and of Judaism. This occasioned violent persecutions in Egypt and in North Africa, and produced some of the fairest flowers of martyrdom.

In Alexandria, in consequence of this law, Leonides, father

¹ φιλόθεος παλλακή.

of the renowned Origen, was beheaded. Potamiana, a virgin of rare beauty of body and spirit, was threatened by beastly passion with treatment worse than death, and, after cruel tortures, slowly burned with her mother in boiling pitch. One of the executioners, Basilides, smitten with sympathy, shielded them somewhat from abuse, and soon after their death embraced Christianity, and was beheaded. He declared that Potamiana had appeared to him in the night, interceded with Christ for him, and set upon his head the martyr's crown.

In Carthage some catechumens, three young men and two young women, probably of the sect of the Montanists, showed remarkable steadfastness and fidelity in the dungeon and at the place of execution. Perpetua, a young woman of noble birth, resisting, not without a violent struggle, both the entreaties of her aged heathen father and the appeal of her helpless babe upon her breast, sacrificed the deep and tender feelings of a daughter and a mother to the Lord who died for her. Felicitas, a slave, when delivered of a child in the same dungeon, answered the jailor, who reminded her of the still keener pains of martyrdom: "Now I suffer, what I suffer; but then another will suffer for me, because I shall suffer for him." All remaining firm, they were cast to wild beasts at the next public festival, having first interchanged the parting kiss in hope of a speedy reunion in heaven.

The same state of things continued through the first years of Caracalla (211-217), though this gloomy misanthrope passed no laws against the Christians.

The abandoned youth, El-Gabal, or Heliogabalus (218-222), who polluted the throne by the blackest vices and follies, tolerated all the religions in the hope of at last merging them in his favorite Syrian worship of the sun with its abominable excesses. He himself was a priest of the god of the sun, and thence took his name.¹

His far more worthy cousin and successor, Alexander Severus

¹ Unless we should prefer to derive it from 𐤀𐤎 and בְּנֵי, "mountain of God."

(222-235), was addicted to a higher kind of religious eclecticism and syncretism, a pantheistic hero-worship. He placed the busts of Abraham and Christ in his domestic chapel with those of Orpheus, Apollonius of Tyana, and the better Roman emperors, and had the gospel rule, "As ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them," engraven on the walls of his palace and on public monuments.¹ His mother, Julia Mamaea, was a patroness of Origen.

His assassin, Maximinus the Thracian (235-238), first a herdsman, afterwards a soldier, resorted again to persecution out of mere opposition to his predecessor, and gave free course to the popular fury against the enemies of the gods, which was at that time excited anew by an earthquake. It is uncertain whether he ordered the entire clergy or only the bishops to be killed. He was a rude barbarian who plundered also heathen temples.

The legendary poesy of the tenth century assigns to his reign the fabulous martyrdom of St. Ursula, a British princess, and her company of eleven thousand (according to others, ten thousand) virgins, who, on their return from a pilgrimage to Rome, were murdered by heathens in the neighborhood of Cologne. This incredible number has probably arisen from the misinterpretation of an inscription, like "Ursula et Undecimilla" (which occurs in an old missal of the Sorbonne), or "Ursula et XI M. V.," i. e. *Martyres Virgines*, which, by substituting *mil*ia for *mar*tyres, was increased from eleven martyrs to eleven thousand virgins. Some historians place the fact, which seems to form the basis of this legend, in connexion with the retreat of the Huns after the battle of Chalons, 451. The abridgment of *Mil.*, which may mean soldiers (*milites*) as well as thousands (*milia*), was another fruitful source of mistakes in a credulous and superstitious age.

Gordianus (238-244) left the church undisturbed. Philip the Arabian (244-249) was even supposed by some to be a Chris-

¹ Yet he meant no more than toleration, as Lampridius says, 22 (21): *Judæis privilegia reservavit, Christianos esse passus est.*

tian, and was termed by Jerome "primus omnium ex Romanis imperatoribus Christianus." It is certain that Origen wrote letters to him and to his wife, Severa.

This season of repose, however, cooled the moral zeal and brotherly love of the Christians; and the mighty storm under the following reign served well to restore the purity of the church.

§ 22. *Persecutions under Decius, and Valerian. A. D. 249-260.*
Martyrdom of Cyprian.

DIONYSIUS ALEX., in Euseb. VI. 40-42; VII. 10, 11.

CYPRIAN: *De Lapsis*, and particularly his *Epistles* of this period. On Cyprian's martyrdom see the *Proconsular Acts*, and PONTIUS: *Vita Cypriani*.

FRANZ GÖRRES: *Die Toleranzedict des Kaisers Gallienus*, in the "Jahrbücher für protest. Theol.," 1877, pp. 606-630. By the same: *Die angebliche Christenverfolgung zur Zeit der Kaiser Numerianus und Carinus*, in Hilgenfeld's "Zeitschrift für wissenschaftl. Theologie." 1880 pp. 31-64.

Decius Trajan (249-251), an earnest and energetic emperor, in whom the old Roman spirit once more awoke, resolved to root out the church as an atheistic and seditious sect, and in the year 250 published an edict to all the governors of the provinces, enjoining return to the pagan state religion under the heaviest penalties. This was the signal for a persecution which, in extent, consistency, and cruelty, exceeded all before it. In truth it was properly the first which covered the whole empire, and accordingly produced a far greater number of martyrs than any former persecution. In the execution of the imperial decree confiscation, exile, torture, promises and threats of all kinds, were employed to move the Christians to apostasy. Multitudes of nominal Christians,¹ especially at the beginning, sacrificed to the gods (*sacrificati*, *thurificati*), or procured from the magistrate a false certificate that they had done so (*libellatici*), and were then excommunicated as apostates (*lapsi*); while hundreds

¹ "Maximus fratrum numerus," says Cyprian.

rushed with impetuous zeal to the prisons and the tribunals, to obtain the confessor's or martyr's crown. The confessors of Rome wrote from prison to their brethren of Africa: "What more glorious and blessed lot can fall to man by the grace of God, than to confess God the Lord amidst tortures and in the face of death itself; to confess Christ the Son of God with lacerated body and with a spirit departing, yet free; and to become fellow-sufferers with Christ in the name of Christ? Though we have not yet shed our blood, we are ready to do so. Pray for us, then, dear Cyprian, that the Lord, the best captain, would daily strengthen each one of us more and more, and at last lead us to the field as faithful soldiers, armed with those divine weapons (Eph. 6: 2) which can never be conquered."

The authorities were specially severe with the bishops and officers of the churches. Fabianus of Rome, Babylas of Antioch, and Alexander of Jerusalem, perished in this persecution. Others withdrew to places of concealment; some from cowardice; some from Christian prudence, in hope of allaying by their absence the fury of the pagans against their flocks, and of saving their own lives for the good of the church in better times.

Among the latter was Cyprian, bishop of Carthage, who incurred much censure by his course, but fully vindicated himself by his pastoral industry during his absence, and by his subsequent martyrdom. He says concerning the matter: "Our Lord commanded us in times of persecution to yield and to fly. He taught this, and he practised it himself. For since the martyr's crown comes by the grace of God, and cannot be gained before the appointed hour, he who retires for a time, and remains true to Christ, does not deny his faith, but only abides his time."

The poetical legend of the seven brothers at Ephesus, who fell asleep in a cave, whither they had fled, and awoke two hundred years afterwards, under Theodosius II. (447), astonished to see the once-despised and hated cross now ruling over city and country, dates itself internally from the time of Decius, but is not mentioned before Gregory of Tours in the sixth century.

Under Gallus (251-253) the persecution received a fresh impulse through the incursions of the Goths, and the prevalence of a pestilence, drought, and famine. Under this reign the Roman bishops Cornelius and Lucius were banished, and then condemned to death.

Valerian (253-260) was at first mild towards the Christians; but in 257 he changed his course, and made an effort to check the progress of their religion without bloodshed, by the banishment of ministers and prominent laymen, the confiscation of their property, and the prohibition of religious assemblies. These measures, however, proving fruitless, he brought the death penalty again into play.

The most distinguished martyrs of this persecution under Valerian are the bishops Sixtus II. of Rome, and Cyprian of Carthage.

When Cyprian received his sentence of death, representing him as an enemy of the Roman gods and laws, he calmly answered: "Deo gratias!" Then, attended by a vast multitude to the scaffold, he prayed once more, undressed himself, covered his eyes, requested a presbyter to bind his hands, and to pay the executioner, who tremblingly drew the sword, twenty-five pieces of gold, and won the incorruptible crown (Sept. 14, 258). His faithful friends caught the blood in handkerchiefs, and buried the body of their sainted pastor with great solemnity.

Gibbon describes the martyrdom of Cyprian with circumstantial minuteness, and dwells with evident satisfaction on the small decorum which attended his execution. But this is no fair average specimen of the style in which Christians were executed throughout the empire. For Cyprian was a man of the highest social standing and connection from his former eminence as a rhetorician and statesman. His deacon, Pontius, relates that "numbers of eminent and illustrious persons, men of mark and family and secular distinction, often urged him, for the sake of their old friendship with him, to retire." We shall return to Cyprian again in the history of church government, where he figures as a typical, ante-Nicene high-churchman, advocating

both the visible unity of the church and episcopal independence of Rome.

The much lauded martyrdom of the deacon St. Laurentius of Rome, who pointed the avaricious magistrates to the poor and sick of the congregation as the richest treasure of the church, and is said to have been slowly roasted to death (Aug. 10, 258), is scarcely reliable in its details, being first mentioned by Ambrose a century later, and then glorified by the poet Prudentius. A Basilica on the Via Tiburtina celebrates the memory of this saint, who occupies the same position among the martyrs of the church of Rome as Stephen among those of Jerusalem.

§ 23. *Temporary Repose.* A. D. 260–303.

Gallienus (260–268) gave peace to the church once more, and even acknowledged Christianity as a *religio licita*. And this calm continued forty years; for the edict of persecution, issued by the energetic and warlike Aurelian (270–275), was rendered void by his assassination; and the six emperors who rapidly followed, from 275 to 284, let the Christians alone.

The persecutions under Carus, Numerianus and Carinus from 284 to 285 are not historical, but legendary.¹

During this long season of peace the church rose rapidly in numbers and outward prosperity. Large and even splendid houses of worship were erected in the chief cities, and provided with collections of sacred books and vessels of gold and silver for the administration of the sacraments. But in the same proportion discipline relaxed, quarrels, intrigues, and factions increased, and worldliness poured in like a flood.

Hence a new trial was a necessary and wholesome process of purification.²

¹ See Franz Görres, *l. c.*

² Eusebius, *H. E.* VIII. 1.

§ 24. *The Diocletian Persecution.* A. D. 303-311.

I. SOURCES.

EUSEBIUS: *H. E.* Lib. VIII.-X; *De Martyr. Palest.* (ed. Cureton, Lond. 1861); *Vita Const.* (ed. Heinichen, Lips. 1870).

LACTANTIUS: *De Mortibus Persec.* c. 7 sqq. Of uncertain authorship.

BASILIIUS M.: *Oratio in Gordium mart.*; *Oratio in Barlaham mart.*

II. WORKS.

BARONIUS: *Annal. ad ann.* 302-305.

GIBBON: *Chrs.* XIII., XIV. and XVI.

JAK. BURCKHARDT: *Die Zeit Constantins des Gr.* Basel, 1853, p. 325.

TH. KEIM: *Der Uebertritt Constantins des Gr. zum Christenthum.* Zürich 1852. The same: *Die römischen Toleranzedicta für das Christenthum* (311-313), in the "Tüb. Theol. Jahrb." 1852. (*His. Rom und das Christenthum* only comes down to A. D. 192.)

ALB. VOGEL: *Der Kaiser Diocletian.* Gotha 1857.

BERNHARDT: *Diokletian in s. Verhältnisse zu den Christen.* Bonn, 1862.

HUNZIKER: *Regierung und Christenverfolgung des Kaisers Diocletianus und seiner Nachfolger.* Leipz. 1868.

THEOD. PREUSS: *Kaiser Diocletian und seine Zeit.* Leipz. 1869.

A. J. MASON: *The Persecution of Diocletian.* Cambridge, 1876. Pages 870. (Comp. a review by Ad. Harnack in the "Theol. Literaturzeitung" for 1877. No. 7. f. 169.)

THEOD. ZAHN: *Constantin der Grosse und die Kirche.* Hannover, 1876.

BRIEGER: *Constantin der Gr. als Religionspolitiker.* Gotha, 1880. Comp. the *Lit. on Constantine*, in vol. III., 10, 11.

The forty years' repose was followed by the last and most violent persecution, a struggle for life and death.

"The accession of the Emperor Diocletian is the era from which the Coptic Churches of Egypt and Abyssinia still date, under the name of the 'Era of Martyrs.' All former persecutions of the faith were forgotten in the horror with which men looked back upon the last and greatest: the tenth wave (as men delighted to count it) of that great storm obliterated all the traces that had been left by others. The fiendish cruelty of Nero, the jealous fears of Domitian, the unimpassioned dislike of Marcus, the sweeping purpose of Decius, the clever devices of Valerian,

fell into obscurity when compared with the concentrated terrors of that final grapple, which resulted in the destruction of the old Roman Empire and the establishment of the Cross as the symbol of the world's hope."¹

Diocletian (284–305) was one of the most judicious and able emperors who, in a trying period, preserved the sinking state from dissolution. He was the son of a slave or of obscure parentage, and worked himself up to supreme power. He converted the Roman republican empire into an Oriental despotism, and prepared the way for Constantine and Constantinople. He associated with himself three subordinate co-regents, Maximian (who committed suicide, 310), Galerius (d. 311), and Constantius Chlorus (d. 306, the father of Constantine the Great), and divided with them the government of the immense empire; thereby quadrupling the personality of the sovereign, and imparting vigor to provincial administration, but also sowing the seed of discord and civil war.² Gibbon calls him a second Augustus, the founder of a new empire, rather than the restorer of the old. He also compares him to Charles V., whom he somewhat resembled in his talents, temporary success and ultimate failure, and voluntary retirement from the cares of government.

In the first twenty years of his reign Diocletian respected the toleration edict of Gallienus. His own wife Prisca, his daughter Valeria, and most of his eunuchs and court officers, besides many of the most prominent public functionaries, were Christians, or at least favorable to the Christian religion. He

¹ So Arthur James Mason begins his book on the *Persecution of Diocletian*.

² Maximian (surnamed Herculus) ruled in Italy and Africa, Galerius (Armentarius) on the banks of the Danube, and afterwards in the East, Constantius (Chlorus) in Gaul, Spain, and Britain; while Diocletian reserved to himself Asia, Egypt, and Thrace, and resided in Nicomedia. Galerius married a daughter of Diocletian (the unfortunate Valeria), Constantius a (nominal) daughter of Maximian (Theodora), after repudiating their former wives. Constantine, the son of the divorced Helena, married Fausta, the daughter of Maximian as his second wife (father and son being married to two sisters). He was raised to the dignity of Cæsar, July 25, 306. See Gibbon, chs. XIII. and XIV.

himself was a superstitious heathen and an oriental despot. Like Aurelian and Domitian before him, he claimed divine honors, as the vicar of Jupiter Capitolinus. He was called, as the Lord and Master of the world, *Sacratissimus Dominus Noster*; he guarded his Sacred Majesty with many circles of soldiers and eunuchs, and allowed no one to approach him except on bended knees, and with the forehead touching the ground, while he was seated on the throne in rich vestments from the far East. "Ostentation," says Gibbon, "was the first principle of the new system instituted by Diocletian." As a practical statesman, he must have seen that his work of the political restoration and consolidation of the empire would lack a firm and permanent basis without the restoration of the old religion of the state. Although he long postponed the religious question, he had to meet it at last. It could not be expected, in the nature of the case, that paganism should surrender to its dangerous rival without a last desperate effort to save itself.

But the chief instigator of the renewal of hostility, according to the account of Lactantius, was Diocletian's co-regent and son-in-law, Galerius, a cruel and fanatical heathen.¹ He prevailed at last on Diocletian in his old age to authorize the persecution which gave to his glorious reign a disgraceful end.

In 303 Diocletian issued in rapid succession three edicts, each more severe than its predecessor. Maximian issued the fourth, the worst of all, April 30, 304. Christian churches were to be destroyed; all copies of the Bible were to be burned; all Christians were to be deprived of public office and civil rights; and at last all, without exception, were to sacrifice to the gods upon pain of death. Pretext for this severity was afforded by the occurrence of fire twice in the palace of Nicomedia in Bithynia, where Diocletian resided.² It was strengthened by

¹ Lactantius (*De Mort. Persec.* c. 9), calls him "a wild beast," in whom dwelt "a native barbarity and a savageness foreign to Roman blood." He died at last of a terrible disease, of which Lactantius gives a minute account (ch. 33).

² Lactantius charges the incendiarism on Galerius who, as a second Nero,

the tearing down of the first edict by an imprudent Christian (celebrated in the Greek church under the name of John), who vented in that way his abhorrence of such "godless and tyrannical rulers," and was gradually roasted to death with every species of cruelty. But the conjecture that the edicts were occasioned by a conspiracy of the Christians who, feeling their rising power, were for putting the government at once into Christian hands, by a stroke of state, is without any foundation in history. It is inconsistent with the political passivity of the church during the first three centuries, which furnish no example of rebellion and revolution. At best such a conspiracy could only have been the work of a few fanatics; and they, like the one who tore down the first edict, would have gloried in the deed and sought the crown of martyrdom.¹

The persecution began on the twenty-third day of February, 303, the feast of the *Terminalia* (as if to make an end of the Christian sect), with the destruction of the magnificent church in Nicomedia, and soon spread over the whole Roman empire, except Gaul, Britain, and Spain, where the co-regent Constantius Chlorus, and especially his son, Constantine the Great (from 306), were disposed, as far as possible, to spare the Christians. But even here the churches were destroyed, and many martyrs of Spain (St. Vincentius, Eulalia, and others celebrated by Prudentius), and of Britain (St. Alban) are assigned by later tradition to this age.

endangered the residence for the purpose of punishing the innocent Christians. Constantine, who then resided at the Court, on a solemn occasion at a later period, attributes the fire to lightning (*Orat. ad Sanct. c. 25*), but the repetition of the occurrence strengthens the suspicion of Lactantius.

¹ Gibbon, ch. XVI., intimates the probability of a political plot. In speaking of the fire in the imperial palace of Nicomedia, he says: "The suspicion naturally fell on the Christians; and it was suggested, *with some degree of probability*, that those desperate fanatics, provoked by their present sufferings, and apprehensive of impending calamities, had entered into a conspiracy with their faithful brethren, the eunuchs of the palace, against the lives of two emperors, whom they detested as the irreconcilable enemies of the church of God." The conjecture of Gibbon was renewed by Burkhart in his work on *Constantine*, pp. 332 ff., but without any evidence. Baur rejects it as artificial and very improbable. (*Kirchengesch. I. 452*, note). Mason (p. 97 sq.) refutes it.

The persecution raged longest and most fiercely in the East under the rule of Galerius and his barbarous nephew Maximin Daza, who was intrusted by Diocletian before his retirement with the dignity of Cæsar and the extreme command of Egypt and Syria.¹ He issued in autumn, 308, a fifth edict of persecution, which commanded that all males with their wives and servants, and even their children, should sacrifice and actually taste the accursed offerings, and that all provisions in the markets should be sprinkled with sacrificial wine. This monstrous law introduced a reign of terror for two years, and left the Christians no alternative but apostasy or starvation.² All the pains, which iron and steel, fire and sword, rack and cross, wild beasts and beastly men could inflict, were employed to gain the useless end.

Eusebius was a witness of this persecution in Cæsarea, Tyre, and Egypt, and saw, with his own eyes, as he tells us, the houses of prayer razed to the ground, the Holy Scriptures committed to the flames on the market places, the pastors hunted, tortured, and torn to pieces in the amphitheatre. Even the wild beasts, he says, not without rhetorical exaggeration, at last refused to attack the Christians, as if they had assumed the part of men in place of the heathen Romans; the bloody swords became dull and shattered; the executioners grew weary, and had to relieve each other; but the Christians sang hymns of praise and thanksgiving in honor of Almighty God, even to their latest breath. He describes the heroic sufferings and death of several martyrs, including his friend, "the holy and blessed Pamphilus," who after two years of imprisonment won

¹ See Lactant., *De Morte Persec.* ch. 18 and 19, 32, and Gibbon, ch. XIV. (vol. II. 16 in Smith's edition). The original name of Maximin was Daza. He must not be confounded with Maximian (who was older and died three years before him). He was a rude, ignorant and superstitious tyrant, equal to Galerius in cruelty, and surpassing him in incredible debauchery (See Lact. *l. c.* ch. 37 sqq.). He died of poison after being defeated by Licinius, in 313.

² See on this edict of Maximin, Euseb. *Mart. Pal.* IX. 2; the Acts of Martyrs in Boll., May 8, p. 291, and Oct. 19, p. 428; Mason, *l. c.* 284 sqq.

the crown of life (309), with eleven others—a typical company that seemed to him to be “a perfect representation of the church.”

Eusebius himself was imprisoned, but released. The charge of having escaped martyrdom by offering sacrifice is without foundation.¹

In this, as in former persecutions, the number of apostates who preferred the earthly life to the heavenly, was very great. To these was now added also the new class of the *traditores*, who delivered the holy Scriptures to the heathen authorities, to be burned. But as the persecution raged, the zeal and fidelity of the Christians increased, and martyrdom spread as by contagion. Even boys and girls showed amazing firmness. In many the heroism of faith degenerated to a fanatical courting of death; confessors were almost worshipped, while yet alive; and the hatred towards apostates distracted many congregations, and produced the Meletian and Donatist schisms.

The number of martyrs cannot be estimated with any degree of certainty. The seven episcopal and the ninety-two Palestinian martyrs of Eusebius are only a select list bearing a similar relation to the whole number of victims as the military lists of distinguished fallen officers to the large mass of common soldiers, and form therefore no fair basis for the calculation of Gibbon, who would reduce the whole number to less than two thousand. During the eight years² of this persecution the number of victims, without including the many confessors who were barbarously mutilated and condemned to a lingering death in the prisons and mines, must have been much larger. But there is no truth in the tradition (which figures in older church histories) that the tyrants erected trophies in Spain and elsewhere with such inscriptions as announce the suppression of the Christian sect.³

¹ Lightfoot vindicates him in his learned art. *Euseb.* in Smith and Wace, *Dict. of Christ. Biogr.* II. 311.

² Or ten years, if we include the local persecutions of Maximin and Licinius after the first edict of toleration (311–313).

³ As “*Nomine Christianorum deleti; superstitione Christiana ubique deleta, et cultu Deorum propagato.*” See the inscriptions in full in Baronius *ad ann.* 304,

The martyrologies date from this period several legends, the germs of which, however, cannot now be clearly sifted from the additions of later poesy. The story of the destruction of the legio Thebaica is probably an exaggeration of the martyrdom of St. Mauritius, who was executed in Syria, as *tribunus militum*, with seventy soldiers, at the order of Maximin. The martyrdom of Barlaam, a plain, rustic Christian of remarkable constancy, and of Gordius, a centurion (who, however, was tortured and executed a few years later under Licinius, 314) has been eulogized by St. Basil. A maiden of thirteen years, St. Agnes, whose memory the Latin church has celebrated ever since the fourth century, was, according to tradition, brought in chains before the judgment-seat in Rome; was publicly exposed, and upon her steadfast confession put to the sword; but afterwards appeared to her grieving parents at her grave with a white lamb and a host of shining virgins from heaven, and said: "Mourn me no longer as dead, for ye see that I live. Rejoice with me, that I am forever united in heaven with the Saviour, whom on earth I loved with all my heart." Hence the lamb in the paintings of this saint; and hence the consecration of lambs in her church at Rome at her festival (Jan. 21), from whose wool the pallium of the archbishop is made. Agricola and Vitalis at Bologna, Gervasius and Protasius at Milan, whose bones were discovered in the time of Ambrose Janurius, bishop of Benevent, who became the patron saint of Naples, and astonishes the faithful by the annual miracle of the liquefaction of his blood, and the British St. Alban, who delivered himself to the authorities in the place of the priest he had concealed in his house, and converted his executioner, are said to have attained martyrdom under Diocletian.¹

no. 8, 9; but they are inconsistent with the confession of the failure in the edict of toleration, and acknowledged to be worthless even by Gams (*K. Gesch. v. Spanien*, I. 387).

¹ For details see the Martyrologies, the "Lives of Saints," also Baronius *Annal.* This historian is so fully convinced of the "*insigne et perpetuum miraculum sanguinis S. Januarii*," that he thinks it unnecessary to produce any witness, since "*tota Italia, et totus Christianus orbis testis est locupletissimus!*" *Ad ann.* 305 no. 6.

§ 25. *The Edicts of Toleration.* A. D. 311–313.

See Lit. in § 24, especially KEIM, and MASON (*Persecution of Diocletian*, pp. 299 and 326 sqq.)

This persecution was the last desperate struggle of Roman heathenism for its life. It was the crisis of utter extinction or absolute supremacy for each of the two religions. At the close of the contest the old Roman state religion was exhausted. Diocletian retired into private life in 305, under the curse of the Christians; he found greater pleasure in planting cabbages at Salona in his native Dalmatia, than in governing a vast empire, but his peace was disturbed by the tragical misfortunes of his wife and daughter, and in 313, when all the achievements of his reign were destroyed, he destroyed himself.

Galerius, the real author of the persecution, brought to reflection by a terrible disease, put an end to the slaughter shortly before his death, by a remarkable edict of toleration, which he issued from Nicomedia in 311, in connexion with Constantine and Licinius. In that document he declared, that the purpose of reclaiming the Christians from their wilful innovation and the multitude of their sects to the laws and discipline of the Roman state, was not accomplished; and that he would now grant them permission to hold their religious assemblies, provided they disturbed not the order of the state. To this he added in conclusion the significant instruction that the Christians, "after this manifestation of grace, should pray to *their God* for the welfare of the emperors, of the state, and of themselves, that the state might prosper in every respect, and that they might live quietly in their homes."¹

¹ M. de Broglie (*L'Église et l'Empire*, I. 182) well characterizes this manifesto: "*Singulier document, moitié insolent, moitié suppliant, qui commence par insulter les chrétiens et finit par leur demander de prier leur maître pour lui.*" Mason (l. c. p. 299): "The dying emperor shows no penitence, makes no confession, except his impotence. He wishes to dupe and outwit the angry Christ, by pretending to be not a persecutor but a reformer. With a curse, he dashes his edict of toleration in the church's face, and hopes superstitiously that it will win him indemnity."

This edict virtually closes the period of persecution in the Roman empire.

For a short time Maximin, whom Eusebius calls "the chief of tyrants," continued in every way to oppress and vex the church in the East, and the cruel pagan Maxentius (a son of Maximian and son-in-law of Galerius) did the same in Italy.

But the young Constantine, who hailed from the far West, had already, in 306, become emperor of Gaul, Spain, and Britain. He had been brought up at the court of Diocletian at Nicomedia (like Moses at the court of Pharaoh) and destined for his successor, but fled from the intrigues of Galerius to Britain, and was appointed by his father and proclaimed by the army as his successor. He crossed the Alps, and under the banner of the cross, he conquered Maxentius at the Milvian bridge near Rome, and the heathen tyrant perished with his army of veterans in the waters of the Tiber, Oct. 27, 312. A few months afterwards Constantine met at Milan with his co-regent and brother-in-law, Licinius, and issued a new edict of toleration (313), to which Maximin also, shortly before his suicide (313), was compelled to give his consent at Nicomedia.¹ The second edict went beyond the first of 311; it was a decisive step from hostile neutrality to friendly neutrality and protection, and prepared the way for the legal recognition of Christianity, as the religion of the empire. It ordered the full restoration of all confiscated church property to the *Corpus Christianorum*, at the expense of the imperial treasury, and directed the provincial magistrates to execute this order at once with all energy, so that peace may be fully established and the continuance of the Divine favor secured to the emperors and their subjects.

This was the first proclamation of the great principle that

¹ It is usually stated (also by Keim, *l. c.*, Gieseler, Baur, vol. I. 454 sqq.), that Constantine and Licinius issued two edicts of toleration, one in the year 312, and one from Milan in 313, since the last refers to a previous edict; but the reference seems to be to directions now lost for officials which accompanied the edict of Galerius (311), of which Constantine was a co-signatory. There is no edict of 312. See Zahn and especially Mason (p. 528 sq.), also Uhlhorn (*Conflict*, etc., p. 497, Engl. translation).

every man had a right to choose his religion according to the dictates of his own conscience and honest conviction, without compulsion and interference from the government.¹ Religion is worth nothing except as an act of freedom. A forced religion is no religion at all. Unfortunately, the successors of Constantine from the time of Theodosius the Great (383–395) enforced the Christian religion to the exclusion of every other; and not only so, but they enforced orthodoxy to the exclusion of every form of dissent, which was punished as a crime against the state.

Paganism made another spasmodic effort. Licinius fell out with Constantine and renewed the persecution for a short time in the East, but he was defeated in 323, and Constantine became sole ruler of the empire. He openly protected and favored the church, without forbidding idolatry, and upon the whole remained true to his policy of protective toleration till his death (337). This was enough for the success of the church, which had all the vitality and energy of a victorious power; while heathenism was fast decaying at its root.

With Constantine, therefore, the last of the heathen, the first of the Christian, emperors, a new period begins. The church ascends the throne of the Cæsars under the banner of the once despised, now honored and triumphant cross, and gives new vigor and lustre to the hoary empire of Rome. This sudden political and social revolution seems marvellous; and yet it was only the legitimate result of the intellectual and moral revolution which Christianity, since the second century, had silently and imperceptibly wrought in public opinion. The very violence of the Diocletian persecution betrayed the inner weakness of heathenism. The Christian minority with its ideas already controlled the deeper current of history. Constantine, as a

¹ "*Ut daremus et Christianis et omnibus liberam potestatem sequendi religionem, quam quisque voluisset.*" See Euseb. *H. E.* X. 5; Lactant. *De Mort. Pers.* c. 48. Mason (p. 327) says of the Edict of Milan: "It is the very first announcement of that doctrine which is now regarded as the mark and principle of civilization, the foundation of solid liberty, the characteristic of modern politics. In vigorous and trenchant sentences it sets forth perfect freedom of conscience, the unfettered choice of religion."

sagacious statesman, saw the signs of the times and followed them. The motto of his policy is well symbolized in his military standard with the inscription: "*Hoc signo vinces.*"¹

What a contrast between Nero, the first imperial persecutor, riding in a chariot among Christian martyrs as burning torches in his gardens, and Constantine, seated in the Council of Nicæa among three hundred and eighteen bishops (some of whom—as the blinded Confessor Paphnutius, Paul of Neocæsarea, and the ascetics from Upper Egypt clothed in wild raiment—wore the insignia of torture on their maimed and crippled bodies), and giving the highest sanction of civil authority to the decree of the eternal deity of the once crucified Jesus of Nazareth! Such a revolution the world has never seen before or since, except the silent, spiritual, and moral reformation wrought by Christianity itself at its introduction in the first, and at its revival in the sixteenth century.

§ 26. *Christian Martyrdom.*

I. SOURCES.

IGNATIUS: *Epistolæ. Martyrium Polycarpi*. TERTULLIAN: *Ad Martyres*. ORIGENES: *Exhortatio ad martyrium* (προτρεπτικός λόγος εἰς μαρτύριον.) CYPRIAN: *Ep. 11 ad mart.* PRUDENTIUS: *Περὶ στεφάνων hymni XIV.* Comp. Lit. § 12.

II. WORKS.

- SAGITTARIUS: *De mart. cruciatibus*, 1696.
 H. DODWELL: *De paucitate martyrum, in his Dissertationes Cyprianicæ.* Lond. 1684.
 RUINART (R. C.): *Præfatio generalis in Acta Martyrum.*
 F. W. GASS: *Das christl. Märtyrertum in den ersten Jahrhunderten*, in *Niedner's "Zeitschrift f. hist. Theol."* 1859 and '60.
 E. DE PRESSENSÉ: *The Martyrs and Apologists*. Translated from the French. London and N. Y. 1871. (Ch. II. p. 67 sqq.).
 CHATEAUBRIAND: *Les martyrs ou le triomphe de la rel. chrét.* 2 vols. Paris 1809 and often (best Engl. transl. by O. W. Wight, N. York, 1859.) Has no critical or historical value, but merely poetical.
 Comp. in part Mrs. JAMESON: *Sacred and Legendary Art.* Lond. 1848. 2 vols.

¹ For a fuller account of Constantine and his relation to the Church, see the next volume.

To these protracted and cruel persecutions the church opposed no revolutionary violence, no carnal resistance, but the moral heroism of suffering and dying for the truth. But this very heroism was her fairest ornament and stanchest weapon. In this very heroism she proved herself worthy of her divine founder, who submitted to the death of the cross for the salvation of the world, and even prayed that his murderers might be forgiven. The patriotic virtues of Greek and Roman antiquity reproduced themselves here in exalted form, in self-denial for the sake of a heavenly country, and for a crown that fadeth not away. Even boys and girls became heroes, and rushed with a holy enthusiasm to death. In those hard times men had to make earnest of the words of the Lord: "Whosoever doth not bear his cross and come after me, cannot be my disciple." "He, that loveth father and mother more than me, is not worthy of me." But then also the promise daily proved itself true: "Blessed are they, who are persecuted for righteousness' sake; for theirs is the kingdom of heaven." "He, that loseth his life for my sake, shall find it." And it applied not only to the martyrs themselves, who exchanged the troubled life of earth for the blessedness of heaven, but also to the church as a whole, which came forth purer and stronger from every persecution, and thus attested her indestructible vitality.

These suffering virtues are among the sweetest and noblest fruits of the Christian religion. It is not so much the amount of suffering which challenges our admiration, although it was terrible enough, as the spirit with which the early Christians bore it. Men and women of all classes, noble senators and learned bishops, illiterate artisans and poor slaves, loving mothers and delicate virgins, hoary-headed pastors and innocent children approached their tortures in no temper of unfeeling indifference and obstinate defiance, but, like their divine Master, with calm self-possession, humble resignation, gentle meekness, cheerful faith, triumphant hope, and forgiving charity. Such spectacles must have often overcome even the inhuman mur-

derer. "Go on," says Tertullian tauntingly to the heathen governors, "rack, torture, grind us to powder: our numbers increase in proportion as ye mow us down. The blood of Christians is their harvest seed. Your very obstinacy is a teacher. For who is not incited by the contemplation of it to inquire what there is in the core of the matter? And who, after having joined us, does not long to suffer?"¹

Unquestionably there were also during this period, especially after considerable seasons of quiet, many superficial or hypocritical Christians, who, the moment the storm of persecution broke forth, flew like chaff from the wheat, and either offered incense to the gods (*thurificati, sacrificati*), or procured false witness of their return to paganism (*libellatici*, from *libellum*), or gave up the sacred books (*traditores*). Tertullian relates with righteous indignation that whole congregations, with the clergy at the head, would at times resort to dishonorable bribes in order to avert the persecution of heathen magistrates.² But these were certainly cases of rare exception. Generally speaking the three sorts of apostates (*lapsi*) were at once excommunicated, and in many churches, through excessive rigor, were even refused restoration.

Those who cheerfully confessed Christ before the heathen magistrate at the peril of life, but were not executed, were honored as *confessors*.³ Those who suffered abuse of all kind and death itself, for their faith, were called *martyrs* or *blood-witnesses*.⁴

Among these confessors and martyrs were not wanting those in whom the pure, quiet flame of enthusiasm rose into the wild fire of fanaticism, and whose zeal was corrupted with impatient haste, heaven-tempting presumption, and pious ambition; to whom that word could be applied: "Though I give my body

¹ Comp. a similar passage in the anonymous *Ep. ad Diognetum*, c. 6 and 7 at the close, and in Justin M., *Dial. c. Tryph. Jud.* c. 110.

² *De fuga in persec.* c. 13: "*Massaliter totæ ecclesiæ tributum sibi irrogaverunt.*"

³ Ὁμολογήται, *confessores*, Matt. 10: 32; 1 Tim. 6: 12.

⁴ Μάρτυρες, Acts 22: 20; Heb. 12: 1; 1 Pet. 5: 1; Rev. 17: 6.

to be burned,¹ and have not love, it profiteth me nothing." They delivered themselves up to the heathen officers, and in every way sought the martyr's crown, that they might merit heaven and be venerated on earth as saints. Thus Tertullian tells of a company of Christians in Ephesus, who begged martyrdom from the heathen governor, but after a few had been executed, the rest were sent away by him with the words: "Miserable creatures, if you really wish to die, you have precipices and halters enough." Though this error was far less discreditable than the opposite extreme of the cowardly fear of man, yet it was contrary to the instruction and the example of Christ and the apostles,¹ and to the spirit of true martyrdom, which consists in the union of sincere humility and power, and possesses divine strength in the very consciousness of human weakness. And accordingly intelligent church teachers censured this stormy, morbid zeal. The church of Smyrna speaks thus: "We do not commend those who expose themselves; for the gospel teaches not so." Clement of Alexandria says: "The Lord himself has commanded us to flee to another city when we are persecuted; not as if the persecution were an evil; not as if we feared death; but that we may not lead or help any to evil doing." In Tertullian's view martyrdom perfects itself in divine patience; and with Cyprian it is a gift of divine grace, which one cannot hastily grasp, but must patiently wait for.

But after all due allowance for such adulteration and degeneracy, the martyrdom of the first three centuries still remains one of the grandest phenomena of history, and an evidence of the indestructible, divine nature of Christianity.

No other religion could have stood for so long a period the combined opposition of Jewish bigotry, Greek philosophy, and Roman policy and power; no other could have triumphed at last over so many foes by purely moral and spiritual force, without calling any carnal weapons to its aid. This compre-

¹ Comp. Matt. 10: 23; 24: 15-20; Phil. 1: 20-25; 2 Tim. 4: 6-8.

hensive and long-continued martyrdom is the peculiar crown and glory of the early church; it pervaded its entire literature and gave it a predominantly apologetic character; it entered deeply into its organization and discipline and the development of Christian doctrine; it affected the public worship and private devotions; it produced a legendary poetry; but it gave rise also, innocently, to a great deal of superstition, and undue exaltation of human merit; and it lies at the foundation of the Catholic worship of saints and relics.

Sceptical writers have endeavored to diminish its moral effect by pointing to the fiendish and hellish scenes of the papal crusades against the Albigenses and Waldenses, the Parisian massacre of the Huguenots, the Spanish Inquisition, and other persecutions of more recent date. Dodwell expressed the opinion, which has been recently confirmed by the high authority of the learned and impartial Niebuhr, that the Diocletian persecution was a mere shadow as compared with the persecution of the Protestants in the Netherlands by the Duke of Alva in the service of Spanish bigotry and despotism. Gibbon goes even further, and boldly asserts that "the number of Protestants who were executed by the Spaniards in a single province and a single reign, far exceeded that of the primitive martyrs in the space of three centuries and of the Roman empire." The victims of the Spanish Inquisition also are said to outnumber those of the Roman emperors.¹

¹ The number of Dutch martyrs under the Duke of Alva amounted, according to Grotius, to over 100,000; according to P. Sarpi, the R. Cath. historian, to 50,000. Motley, in his *History of the Rise of the Dutch Republic*, vol. II. 504, says of the terrible reign of Alva: "The barbarities committed amid the sack and ruin of those blazing and starving cities are almost beyond belief; unborn infants were torn from the living bodies of their mothers; women and children were violated by the thousands; and whole populations burned and hacked to pieces by soldiers in every mode which cruelty, in its wanton ingenuity, could devise." Buckle and Friedländer (III. 586) assert that during the eighteen years of office of Torquemada, the Spanish Inquisition punished, according to the lowest estimate, 105,000 persons, among whom 8,800 were burnt. In Andalusia 2000 Jews were executed, and 17,000 punished in a single year.

Admitting these sad facts, they do not justify any sceptical conclusion. For Christianity is no more responsible for the crimes and cruelties perpetrated in its name by unworthy professors and under the sanction of an unholy alliance of politics and religion, than the Bible for all the nonsense men have put into it, or God for the abuse daily and hourly practised with his best gifts. But the number of martyrs must be judged by the total number of Christians who were a minority of the population. The want of particular statements by contemporary writers leaves it impossible to ascertain, even approximately, the number of martyrs. Dodwell and Gibbon have certainly underrated it, as far as Eusebius, the popular tradition since Constantine, and the legendary poesy of the middle age, have erred the other way. This is the result of recent discovery and investigation, and fully admitted by such writers as Renan. Origen, it is true, wrote in the middle of the third century, that the number of Christian martyrs was small and easy to be counted; God not permitting that all this class of men should be exterminated.¹ But this language must be understood as referring chiefly to the reigns of Caracalla, Heliogabalus, Alexander Severus and Philippus Arabs, who did not persecute the Christians. Soon afterwards the fearful persecution of Decius broke out, in which Origen himself was thrown into prison and cruelly treated. Concerning the preceding ages, his statement must be qualified by the equally valid testimonies of Tertullian, Clement of Alexandria (Origen's teacher), and the still older Irenæus, who says expressly, that the church, for her love to God, "sends in all places and at all times a multitude of martyrs to the Father."² Even the heathen Tacitus speaks of an "immense multitude" (*ingens multitudo*) of Christians, who were murdered in the city of Rome alone during the

¹ Ὀλίγοι κατὰ καιροὺς καὶ πόθοις ἐπαριθμητοὶ τεθνήκασι. *Adv. Cel.* III. 8. The older testimony of Melito of Sardis, in the well-known fragment from his Apology, preserved by Eusebius IV. 26, refers merely to the small number of imperial persecutors before Marcus Aurelius.

² *Adv. Hær.* IV. c. 33, § 9: *Ecclesia omni in loco ob eam, quam habet erga Deum dilectionem, multitudinem martyrum in omni tempore præmittit ad Patrem.*

Neronian persecution in 64. To this must be added the silent, yet most eloquent testimony of the Roman catacombs, which, according to the calculation of Marchi and Northcote, extended over nine hundred English miles, and are said to contain nearly seven millions of graves, a large proportion of these including the relics of martyrs, as the innumerable inscriptions and instruments of death testify. The sufferings, moreover, of the church during this period are of course not to be measured merely by the number of actual executions, but by the far more numerous insults, slanders, vexations, and tortures, which the cruelty of heartless heathens and barbarians could devise, or any sort of instrument could inflict on the human body, and which were in a thousand cases worse than death.

Finally, while the Christian religion has at all times suffered more or less persecution, bloody or unbloody, from the ungodly world, and always had its witnesses ready for any sacrifice; yet at no period since the first three centuries was the whole church denied the right of a peaceful legal existence, and the profession of Christianity itself universally declared and punished as a political crime. Before Constantine the Christians were a helpless and proscribed minority in an essentially heathen world, and under a heathen government. Then they died not simply for particular doctrines, but for the facts of Christianity. Then it was a conflict, not for a denomination or sect, but for Christianity itself. The importance of ancient martyrdom does not rest so much on the number of victims and the cruelty of their sufferings as on the great antithesis and the ultimate result in saving the Christian religion for all time to come. Hence the first three centuries are the classical period of heathen persecution and of Christian martyrdom. The martyrs and confessors of the ante-Nicene age suffered for the common cause of all Christian denominations and sects, and hence are justly held in reverence and gratitude by all.

NOTES.

Dr. Arnold, who had no leaning whatever to superstitious and idolatrous saint-worship, in speaking of a visit to the church of San Stefano at Rome, remarks: "No doubt many of the particular stories thus painted will bear no critical examination; it is likely enough, too, that Gibbon has truly accused the general statements of exaggeration. But this is a thankless labor. Divide the sum total of the reported martyrs by twenty—by fifty, if you will; after all you have a number of persons of all ages and sexes suffering cruel torments and death for conscience' sake, and for Christ's; and by their sufferings manifestly with God's blessing ensuring the triumph of Christ's gospel. Neither do I think that we consider the excellence of this martyr spirit half enough. I do not think that pleasure is a sin; but though pleasure is not a sin, yet surely the contemplation of suffering for Christ's sake is a thing most needful for us in our days, from whom in our daily life suffering seems so far removed. And as God's grace enabled rich and delicate persons, women and even children, to endure all extremities of pain and reproach, in times past; so there is the same grace no less mighty now; and if we do not close ourselves against it, it might be in us no less glorious in a time of trial."

Lecky, a very able and impartial historian, justly censures the unfeeling chapter of Gibbon on persecution. "The complete absence," he says (*History of European Morals*, I. 494 sqq.), "of all sympathy with the heroic courage manifested by the masters, and the frigid, and in truth most unphilosophical severity with which the historian has weighed the words and actions of men engaged in the agonies of a deadly struggle, must repel every generous nature, while the persistence with which he estimates persecutions by the number of deaths rather than the amount of suffering, diverts the mind from the really distinctive atrocities of the Pagan persecutions. . . . It is true that in one Catholic country they introduced the atrocious custom of making the spectacle of men burnt alive for their religious opinions an element in the public festivities. It is true, too, that the immense majority of the acts of the martyrs are the transparent forgeries of lying monks; but it is also true that among the authentic records of Pagan persecutions there are histories which display, perhaps more vividly than any other, both the depth of cruelty to which human nature may sink, and the heroism of resistance it may attain. There was a time when it was the just boast of the Romans, that no refinement of cruelty, no prolongations of torture, were admitted in their stern but simple penal code. But all this was changed. Those hateful games, which made the spectacle of human suffering and death the delight of all classes, had spread their brutalising influence wherever the Roman name was known, had rendered millions absolutely indifferent to the sight of human suffering, had produced in many, in the very centre of an advanced civilisation, a relish and a passion for torture, a rapture and an exultation in watching the spasms of extreme agony, such as an African or an American savage alone can equal. The most horrible recorded instances of torture were usually inflicted, either by the populace, or in their presence, in the arena. We read of Christians bound in chains of red-hot iron, while the stench of their half-consumed flesh rose in a

suffocating cloud to heaven; of others who were torn to the very bone by shells, or hocks of iron; of holy virgins given over to the lust of the gladiator or to the mercies of the pander; of two hundred and twenty-seven converts sent on one occasion to the mines, each with the sinews of one leg severed by a red-hot iron, and with an eye scooped from its socket; of fires so slow that the victims writhed for hours in their agonies; of bodies torn limb from limb, or sprinkled with burning lead; of mingled salt and vinegar poured over the flesh that was bleeding from the rack; of tortures prolonged and varied through entire days. For the love of their Divine Master, for the cause they believed to be true, men, and even weak girls, endured these things without flinching, when one word would have freed them from their sufferings. *No opinion we may form of the proceedings of priests in a later age should impair the reverence with which we bend before the martyr's tomb.*

§ 27. *Rise of the Worship of Martyrs and Relics.*

I. SOURCES.

In addition to the works quoted in §§ 12 and 26, comp. EUSEB. *H. E.* IV. 15; *De Mart. Palaest.* c. 7. CLEM. ALEX.: *Strom.* IV. p. 596. ORIG.: *Exhort. ad mart.* c. 30 and 50. *In Num. Kom.* X. 2. TERTULL.: *De cor. mil.* c. 3; *De Resurr. carn.* c. 43. CYPR.: *De lapsis*, c. 17; *Epist.* 34 and 57. CONST. APOST.: l. 8.

II. WORKS.

C. SAGITTARIUS: *De natalitiis mart.* Jen. 1696.

SCHWABE: *De insigni veneratione, quae obtinuit erga martyres in primit. eccl.* Altd. 1748.

In thankful remembrance of the fidelity of this "noble army of martyrs," in recognition of the unbroken communion of saints, and in prospect of the resurrection of the body, the church paid to the martyrs, and even to their mortal remains, a veneration, which was in itself well-deserved and altogether natural, but which early exceeded the scriptural limit, and afterwards degenerated into the worship of saints and relics. The heathen hero-worship silently continued in the church and was baptized with Christian names.

In the church of Smyrna, according to its letter of the year 155, we find this veneration still in its innocent, childlike form: "They [the Jews] know not, that we can neither ever forsake Christ, who has suffered for the salvation of the whole world of the redeemed, nor worship another. Him indeed we adore (*προσκυνούμεν*) as the Son of God; but the martyrs we love as

they deserve (*ἀγαπῶμεν ἀλλήλους*), for their surpassing love to their King and Master, as we wish also to be their companions and fellow-disciples.”¹ The day of the death of a martyr was called his heavenly birth-day,² and was celebrated annually at his grave (mostly in a cave or catacomb), by prayer, reading of a history of his suffering and victory, oblations, and celebration of the holy supper.

But the early church did not stop with this. Martyrdom was taken, after the end of the second century, not only as a higher grade of Christian virtue, but at the same time as a baptism of fire and blood,³ an ample substitution for the baptism of water, as purifying from sin, and as securing an entrance into heaven. Origen even went so far as to ascribe to the sufferings of the martyrs an atoning virtue for others, an efficacy like that of the sufferings of Christ, on the authority of such passages as 2 Cor. 12: 15; Col. 1: 24; 2 Tim. 4: 6. According to Tertullian, the martyrs entered immediately into the blessedness of heaven, and were not required, like ordinary Christians, to pass through the intermediate state. Thus was applied the benediction on those who are persecuted for righteousness' sake, Matt. 5: 10-12. Hence, according to Origen and Cyprian, their prayers before the throne of God came to be thought peculiarly efficacious for the church militant on earth, and, according to an example related by Eusebius, their future intercessions were bespoken shortly *before* their death.

Yet we find in this period no trace of any direct address to departed saints.

The veneration thus shown for the persons of the martyrs was transferred in smaller measure to their remains. The church of Smyrna counted the bones of Polycarp more precious than gold or diamonds.⁴ The remains of Ignatius were held in

¹ *Martyrium Polycarpi*, cap. 17; comp. Eusebius, *H. E.* IV. 15.

² Ἡμέρα γενέθλιος, γενέθλια, *natales, natalitia martyrum*.

³ *Lavacrum sanguinis, βάπτισμα διὰ πυρός*, comp. Matt. 20: 22; Luke 12: 50; Mark 10: 39.

⁴ It is worthy of note, however, that some of the startling phenomena related in the *Martyrium Polycarpi* by the congregation of Smyrna are omitted in the narrative of Eusebius (IV. 15), and may be a later interpolation.

equal veneration by the Christians at Antioch. The friends of Cyprian gathered his blood in handkerchiefs, and built a chapel over his tomb.

A veneration frequently excessive was paid, not only to the deceased martyrs, but also the surviving confessors. It was made the special duty of the deacons to visit and minister to them in prison. The heathen Lucian in his satire, "*De morte Peregrini*," describes the unwearied care of the Christians for their imprisoned brethren; the heaps of presents brought to them; and the testimonies of sympathy even by messengers from great distances; but all, of course, in Lucian's view, out of mere good-natured enthusiasm. Tertullian the Montanist censures the excessive attention of the Catholics to their confessors. The *libelli pacis*, as they were called—intercessions of the confessors for the fallen—commonly procured restoration to the fellowship of the church. Their voice had peculiar weight in the choice of bishops, and their sanction not rarely overbalanced the authority of the clergy. Cyprian is nowhere more eloquent than in the praise of their heroism. His letters to the imprisoned confessors in Carthage are full of glorification, in a style somewhat offensive to our evangelical ideas. Yet after all, he protests against the abuse of their privileges, from which he had himself to suffer, and earnestly exhorts them to a holy walk; that the honor they have gained may not prove a snare to them, and through pride and carelessness be lost. He always represents the crown of the confessor and the martyr as a free gift of the grace of God, and sees the real essence of it rather in the inward disposition than in the outward act. Commodian conceived the whole idea of martyrdom in its true breadth, when he extended it to all those who, without shedding their blood, endured to the end in love, humility, and patience, and in all Christian virtue.

CHAPTER III.

LITERARY CONTEST OF CHRISTIANITY WITH JUDAISM AND HEATHENISM.

§ 28. *Literature.*

I. SOURCES.

TACITUS (Consul 97, d. about 117): *Annal.* xv. 44. Comp. his picture of the Jews, *Hist.* v. 1-5.

PLINIUS (d. about 114): *Ep.* x. 96, 97.

CELSUS (flourished about 150): Ἀληθὲς λόγος. Preserved in fragments in Origen's Refutation (8 books Κατὰ Κέλσου); reconstructed, translated and explained by THEODOR KEIM: *Celsus' Wahres Wort. Aelteste wissenschaftliche Streitschrift antiker Weltanschauung gegen das Christenthum*, Zürich 1873 (293 pages).

LUCIAN (d. about 180): Περὶ τῆς Περεργίνου τελευτῆς, c. 11-16; and Ἀληθὲς ἱστορία, I. 22, 30; II. 4, 11.

PORPHYRIUS (about 300): Κατὰ Χριστιανῶν λόγοι. Only fragments preserved, and collected by HOLSTEIN, Rom. 1630. His most important works are lost. Those that remain are ed. by A. NAUCK, 1860.

II. WORKS.

NATH. LARDNER: *Collection of Ancient Jewish and Heathen Testimonies to the Truth of the Christian Religion* (Lond. 1727-'57) in the VI. and VII. vols. of his *Works*, ed. by Kippis, London, 1838. Very valuable.

MOSHEIM: Introduction to his Germ. translation of *Origen against Celsus*. Hamb. 1745.

BINDEMANN: *Celsus und seine Schriften gegen die Christen*, in Illgen's "Zeitschr. für hist. Theol." Leipz. 1842. N. 2, p. 58-146.

AD. PLANCK: *Lukian u. das Christenthum*, in the "Studien u. Kritiken," 1851. N. 4; translated in the "Bibliotheca Sacra," Andover, 1852.

F. CHR. BAUR: *Das Christenthum der 3 ersten Jahrh.* Tüb. secd. ed. 1860 (and 1863) pp. 370-430.

NEANDER: *General History of the Christian Religion and Church*; Engl. trans. by Torrey, vol. I., 167-178. (12th Boston ed.)

- RICHARD VON DER ALM: *Die Urtheile heidnischer und jüdischer Schriftsteller der vier ersten Jahrh. über Jesus und die ersten Christen.* Leipz. 1865. (An infidel book.)
- H. KELLNER (R. C.): *Hellenismus und Christenthum oder die geistige Reaction des antiken Heidenthums gegen das Christenthum.* Köln 1866 (454 pp.)
- B. AUBÉ: *De l'Apologétique chrétienne au II^e siècle. St. Justin, philosophe et martyr*, 2nd ed. Paris 1875. By the same: *Histoire des Persecutions de l'église.* The second part, also under the title *La polémique païenne à la fin du II^e siècle.* Paris 1878.
- E. RENAN: *Marc-Aurèle* (Paris 1882), pp. 345 (*Celse et Lucien*), 379 sqq. (*Nouvelles apologies*).
- J. W. FARRAR: *Seekers after God.* London, 1869, new ed. 1877. (Essays on Seneca, Epictetus, and Marcus Aurelius, compared with Christianity.)
- Comp. the Lit. quoted in § 12, especially UHLHORN and KEIM (1881), and the monographs on Justin M., Tertullian, Origen, and other Apologists, which are noticed in sections treating of these writers.

§ 29. *Literary Opposition to Christianity.*

Besides the external conflict, which we have considered in the second chapter, Christianity was called to pass through an equally important intellectual and literary struggle with the ancient world; and from this also it came forth victorious, and conscious of being the perfect religion for man. We shall see in this chapter, that most of the objections of modern infidelity against Christianity were anticipated by its earliest literary opponents, and ably and successfully refuted by the ancient apologists for the wants of the church in that age. Both unbelief and faith, like human nature and divine grace, are essentially the same in all ages and among all nations, but vary in form, and hence every age, as it produces its own phase of opposition, must frame its own mode of defense.

The Christian religion found at first as little favor with the representatives of literature and art as with princes and statesmen. In the secular literature of the latter part of the first century and the beginning of the second, we find little more than ignorant, careless and hostile allusions to Christianity as a new form of superstition which then began to attract the attention of the Roman government. In this point of view

also Christ's kingdom was not of the world, and was compelled to force its way through the greatest difficulties; yet it proved at last the mother of an intellectual and moral culture far in advance of the Græco-Roman, capable of endless progress, and full of the vigor of perpetual youth.

The pious barbarism of the Byzantine emperors Theodosius II. and Valentinian III. ordered the destruction of the works of Porphyrius and all other opponents of Christianity, to avert the wrath of God, but considerable fragments have been preserved in the refutations of the Christian Fathers, especially Origen, Eusebius, Cyril of Alexandria (against Julian), and scattered notices of Jerome and Augustin.

§ 30. *Jewish Opposition. Josephus and the Talmud.*

The hostility of the Jewish Scribes and Pharisees to the gospel is familiar from the New Testament. Josephus mentions Jesus once in his *Archæology*, but in terms so favorable as to agree ill with his Jewish position, and to subject the passage to the suspicion of interpolation or corruption.¹ His writings, however, contain much valuable testimony to the truth of the gospel history. His "*Archæology*" throughout is a sort of fifth Gospel in illustration of the social and political environments of the life of Christ.² His "*History of the Jewish War*," in particular, is undesignedly a striking commentary on the Saviour's predictions concerning the destruction of the city and temple of Jerusalem, the great distress and affliction of the Jewish people at that time, the famine, pestilence, and earthquake, the rise of false prophets and impostors, and the flight of his disciples at the approach of these calamities.³

The attacks of the later Jews upon Christianity are essentially mere repetitions of those recorded in the Gospels—denial

¹ *Joseph. Antiqu.* l. XVIII. c. 3, sect. 3. Comp. on this much disputed passage, vol. I., p. 92.

² It is the special merit of Keim to have thoroughly utilized Josephus for the biography of Jesus.

³ These coincidences have been traced out in full by Lardner, *Works*, ed. Kippis, vol. VI. p. 406 ff.

of the Messiahship of Jesus, and horrible vituperation of his confessors. We learn their character best from the dialogue of Justin with the Jew Trypho. The fictitious disputation on Christ by Jason and Papiscus, first mentioned by Celsus, was lost since the seventh century.¹ It seems to have been a rather poor apology of Christianity against Jewish objections by a Jewish Christian, perhaps by Aristo of Pella.

The Talmud is the Bible of Judaism separated from, and hostile to, Christianity, but it barely notices it except indirectly. It completed the isolation of the Jews from all other people.

§ 31. Pagan Opposition. Tacitus and Pliny.

The Greek and Roman writers of the first century, and some of the second, as Seneca, the elder Pliny, and even the mild and noble Plutarch, either from ignorance or contempt, never allude to Christianity at all.

Tacitus and the younger Pliny, contemporaries and friends of the emperor Trajan, are the first to notice it; and they speak of it only incidentally and with stoical disdain and antipathy, as an "*exūtiabilis superstitio*," "*prava et immodica superstitio*," "*inflexibilis obstinatio*." These celebrated and in their way altogether estimable Roman authors thus, from manifest ignorance, saw in the Christians nothing but superstitious fanatics, and put them on a level with the hated Jews; Tacitus, in fact, reproaching them also with the "*odium generis humani*." This will afford some idea of the immense obstacles which the new religion encountered in public opinion, especially in the cultivated circles of the Roman empire. The Christian apologies of the second century also show, that the most malicious and gratuitous slanders against the Christians were circulated among the common people, even charges of incest and cannibalism,² which may have arisen in part from a misappre-

¹ Ἰάσονος καὶ Παπίσκου ἀντιλογία περὶ Χριστοῦ. Origenes *Contra Cels.* IV. 51. Celsus says, that he read the book which defends the allegorical interpretation, with pity and hatred. Comp. Harnack, *Altchristl. Literatur*, vol. I. (1882), p. 115 sqq.

² Οἰδιπόδειοι μίξεις, incesti concubitus; and θυεστερία δεῖπνα, Thyestæa epulæ.

hension of the intimate brotherly love of the Christians, and their nightly celebration of the holy supper and love-feasts.

Their indirect Testimony to Christianity.

On the other hand, however, the scanty and contemptuous allusions of Tacitus and Pliny to Christianity bear testimony to a number of facts in the Gospel History. Tacitus, in giving an account of the Neronian persecution, incidentally attests, that Christ was put to death as a malefactor by Pontius Pilate in the reign of Tiberius; that he was the founder of the Christian sect, that the latter took its rise in Judæa and spread in spite of the ignominious death of Christ and the hatred and contempt it encountered throughout the empire, so that a "vast multitude" (*multitudo ingens*) of them were most cruelly put to death in the city of Rome alone as early as the year 64. He also bears valuable testimony, in the fifth book of his History, together with Josephus, from whom he mainly, though not exclusively takes his account, to the fulfilment of Christ's prophecy concerning the destruction of Jerusalem and the overthrow of the Jewish theocracy.

As to Pliny's famous letter to Trajan, written about 107, it proves the rapid spread of Christianity in Asia Minor at that time among all ranks of society, the general moral purity and steadfastness of its professors amid cruel persecution, their mode and time of worship, their adoration of Christ as God, their observance of a "stated day," which is undoubtedly Sunday, and other facts of importance in the early history of the Church. Trajan's rescript in reply to Pliny's inquiry, furnishes evidence of the innocence of the Christians; he notices no charge against them except their disregard of the worship of the gods, and forbids them to be sought for. Marcus Aurelius testifies, in one brief and unfriendly allusion, to their eagerness for the crown of martyrdom.

§ 32. *Direct Assaults. Celsus.*

The direct assault upon Christianity, by works devoted to the purpose, began about the middle of the second century, and was

very ably conducted by a Grecian philosopher, Celsus, otherwise unknown; according to Origen, an Epicurean with many Platonic ideas, and a friend of Lucian. He wrote during the persecuting reign of Marcus Aurelius.¹

Celsus, with all his affected or real contempt for the new religion, considered it important enough to be opposed by an extended work entitled "A True Discourse," of which Origen, in his *Refutation*, has faithfully preserved considerable fragments.² These represent their author as an eclectic philosopher of varied culture, skilled in dialectics, and familiar with the Gospels, Epistles, and even the writings of the Old Testament. He speaks now in the frivolous style of an Epicurean, now in the earnest and dignified tone of a Platonist. At one time he advocates the popular heathen religion, as, for instance, its doctrine of demons; at another time he rises above the polytheistic notions to a pantheistic or sceptical view. He employs all the aids which the culture of his age afforded, all the weapons of learning, common sense, wit, sarcasm, and dramatic animation of style, to disprove Christianity; and he anticipates most of the arguments and sophisms of the deists and infidels of later times. Still his book is, on the whole, a very superficial, loose, and light-minded work, and gives striking proof of the inability of the natural reason to understand the Christian truth. It has no savor of humility, no sense of the corruption of human nature, and man's need of redemption; it is full of heathen passion and prejudice, utterly blind to any spiritual realities, and could therefore not in the slightest degree appreciate the glory of the Redeemer and of his work. It needs no refutation, it refutes itself.

¹ Origen (*I. 8*) indefinitely assigns him to the reign of Hadrian and the Antonines; most historians (Mosheim, Gieseler, Baur, Friedländer) to A. D. 150 or later; others (Tillemont, Neander, Zeller) to about 160 or 170; Keim (*l. c.* p. 267) to A. D. 178. As the place of composition Keim (p. 274) suggests Rome, others Alexandria. He ably defends his identity with the friend of Lucian (p. 291), but makes him out a Platonist rather than an Epicurean (p. 203 sqq.).

² See the restoration of Celsus from these fragments by Dr. Keim, quoted above.

Celsus first introduces a Jew, who accuses the mother of Jesus of adultery with a soldier named Panthera;¹ adduces the denial of Peter, the treachery of Judas, and the death of Jesus as contradictions of his pretended divinity; and makes the resurrection an imposture. Then Celsus himself begins the attack, and begins it by combating the whole idea of the supernatural, which forms the common foundation of Judaism and Christianity. The controversy between Jews and Christians appears to him as foolish as the strife about the shadow of an ass. The Jews believed, as well as the Christians, in the prophecies of a Redeemer of the world, and thus differed from them only in that they still expected the Messiah's coming. But then, to what purpose should God come down to earth at all, or send another down? He knows beforehand what is going on among men. And such a descent involves a change, a transition from the good to the evil, from the lovely to the hateful, from the happy to the miserable; which is undesirable, and indeed impossible, for the divine nature. In another place he says, God troubles himself no more about men than about monkeys and flies. Celsus thus denies the whole idea of revelation, now in pantheistic style, now in the levity of Epicurean deism; and thereby at the same time abandons the ground of the popular heathen religion. In his view Christianity has no rational foundation at all, but is supported by the imaginary terrors of future punishment. Particularly offensive to him are the promises of the gospel to the poor and miserable, and the doctrines of forgiveness of sins and regeneration, and of the resurrection of the body. This last he scoffingly calls a hope of worms, but not of rational souls. The appeal to the omnipotence of God, he thinks, does not help the matter, be-

¹ Πάνθηρ, *panthera*, here, and in the Talmud, where Jesus is likewise called לפנ לפנ לפנ, is used, like the Latin *lupa*, as a type of ravenous lust hence as a symbolical name for *μοιχεύω*. So Nitzsch and Baur. But Keim (p. 12) takes it as a designation of the wild rapacious (πᾶν θηρῶν) Roman soldier. The mother of Jesus was, according to the Jewish informant of Celsus, a poor seamstress, and engaged to a carpenter, who plunged her into disgrace and misery when he found out her infidelity.

cause God can do nothing improper and unnatural. He reproaches the Christians with ignorance, credulity, obstinacy, innovation, division, and sectarianism, which they inherited mostly from their fathers, the Jews. They are all uncultivated, mean, superstitious people, mechanics, slaves, women, and children. The great mass of them he regarded as unquestionably deceived. But where there are deceived, there must be also deceivers; and this leads us to the last result of this polemical sophistry. Celsus declared the first disciples of Jesus to be deceivers of the worst kind; a band of sorcerers, who fabricated and circulated the miraculous stories of the Gospels, particularly that of the resurrection of Jesus; but betrayed themselves by contradictions. The originator of the imposture, however, is Jesus himself, who learned that magical art in Egypt, and afterwards made a great noise with it in his native country.

But here, this philosophical and critical sophistry virtually acknowledges its bankruptcy. The hypothesis of deception is the very last one to offer in explanation of a phenomenon so important as Christianity was even in that day. The greater and more permanent the deception, the more mysterious and unaccountable it must appear to reason.

Chrysostom made the truthful remark, that Celsus bears witness to the antiquity of the apostolic writings. This heathen assailant, who lived almost within hailing distance of St. John, incidentally gives us an abridgement of the history of Christ as related by the Gospels, and this furnishes strong weapons against modern infidels, who would represent this history as a later invention. "I know everything," he says; "we have had it all from your own books, and need no other testimony; ye slay yourselves with your own sword." He refers to the Gospels of Matthew, Luke, and John, and makes upon the whole about eighty allusions to, or quotations from, the New Testament. He takes notice of Christ's birth from a virgin in a small village of Judæa, the adoration of the wise men from the East, the

slaughter of the infants by order of Herod, the flight to Egypt, where he supposed Christ learned the charms of magicians, his residence in Nazareth, his baptism and the descent of the Holy Spirit in the shape of a dove and the voice from heaven, the election of disciples, his friendship with publicans and other low people, his supposed cures of the lame and the blind, and raising of the dead, the betrayal of Judas, the denial of Peter, the principal circumstances in the history of the passion and crucifixion, also the resurrection of Christ.¹

It is true he perverts or abuses most of these facts; but according to his own showing they were then generally and had always been believed by the Christians. He alludes to some of the principal doctrines of the Christians, to their private assemblies for worship, to the office of presbyters. He omits the grosser charges of immorality, which he probably disowned as absurd and incredible.

In view of all these admissions we may here, with Lardner, apply Samson's riddle: "Out of the eater came forth meat, and out of the strong came forth sweetness."²

§ 33. *Lucian.*

Edd. of Lucian's works by Hemsterhuis and Reis (1743 sqq.), *Jacobitz* (1836-39), *Dindorf* (1840 and 1858), *Bekker* (1853), *Franc. Fritzsche* (1860-'69). The pseudo-Lucianic dialogue *Philopatris* (φιλόπατρις, loving one's country, patriot) in which the Christians are ridiculed and condemned as enemies of the Roman empire, is of a much later date, probably from the reign of Julian the Apostate (363). See Gesner: *De ætate et auctore Philopatridis*, Jen. 1714.

¹ Keim (*Geschichte Jesu von Nazara*, I. 22) says of Celsus: "*Von der Jungfrauengeburt bis zum Jammer des Todes bei Essig und Galle, bis zu den Wundern des Todes und der Auferstehung hat er unsere Evangelien verfolgt, und anderen Quellen, welche zum Theil heute noch fliessen, hat er den Glauben an die Häßlichkeit Jesu und an die Sündhaftigkeit seiner Jünger abgewonnen.*" Comp. Keim's monograph on *Celsus*, pp. 219-231. On the bearing of his testimony on the genuineness of the Gospel of John, see vol. I. p. 708.

² Judges xiv. 14. Comp. Lardner's *Works*, vol. VII. pp. 210-270. Dr. Doddridge and Dr. Leland made good use of Celsus against the Deists of the last century. He may with still greater effect be turned against the more radical theories of Strauss and Renan. For Keim's estimate, see his *Celsus*, 253-261.

JACOB: *Charakteristik Luciana*. Hamburg 1822.

G. BERNAYS: *Lucian und die Cyniker*. Berlin, 1879.

Comp. KEIM: *Celms*, 143-151; ED. ZELLER: *Alexander und Peregrinus*, in the "Deutsche Rundschau," for Jan. 1877; HENRY COTTERILL: *Peregrinus Proteus* (Edinb. 1879); AD. HARNACK in Herzog (ed. II.), VIII. 772-779; and the Lit. quoted in § 28.

In the same period the rhetorician Lucian (born at Samosata in Syria about 120, died in Egypt or Greece before 200), the Voltaire of Grecian literature, attacked the Christian religion with the same light weapons of wit and ridicule, with which, in his numerous elegantly written works, he assailed the old popular faith and worship, the mystic fanaticism imported from the East, the vulgar life of the Stoics and Cynics of that day, and most of the existing manners and customs of the distracted period of the empire. An Epicurean, worldling, and infidel, as he was, could see in Christianity only one of the many vagaries and follies of mankind; in the miracles, only jugglery; in the belief of immortality, an empty dream; and in the contempt of death and the brotherly love of the Christians, to which he was constrained to testify, a silly enthusiasm.

Thus he represents the matter in an historical romance on the life and death of Peregrinus Proteus, a contemporary Cynic philosopher, whom he makes the basis of a satire upon Christianity, and especially upon Cynicism. Peregrinus is here presented as a perfectly contemptible man, who, after the meanest and grossest crimes, adultery, sodomy, and parricide, joins the credulous Christians in Palestine, cunningly imposes on them, soon rises to the highest repute among them, and, becoming one of the confessors in prison, is loaded with presents by them, in fact almost worshipped as a god, but is afterwards excommunicated for eating some forbidden food (probably meat of the idolatrous sacrifices); then casts himself into the arms of the Cynics, travels about everywhere, in the filthiest style of that sect; and at last about the year 165, in frantic thirst for fame, plunges into the flames of a funeral pile before the assembled populace of the town of Olympia, for the triumph of philosophy.

This fiction of the self-burning was no doubt meant for a parody on the Christian martyrdom, perhaps with special reference to Polycarp, who a few years before had suffered death by fire at Smyrna (155).¹

Lucian treated the Christians rather with a compassionate smile, than with hatred. He nowhere urges persecution. He never calls Christ an impostor, as Celsus does, but a "crucified *sophist*;" a term which he uses as often in a good sense as in the bad. But then, in the end, both the Christian and the heathen religions amount, in his view, to imposture; only, in his Epicurean indifferentism, he considers it not worth the trouble to trace such phenomena to their ultimate ground, and attempt a philosophical explanation.²

The merely negative position of this clever mocker of all religions injured heathenism more than Christianity, but could not be long maintained against either; the religious element is far too deeply seated in the essence of human nature. Epicureanism and scepticism made way, in their turns, for Platonism, and for faith or superstition. Heathenism made a vigorous effort to regenerate itself, in order to hold its ground against the steady advance of Christianity. But the old religion itself could not help feeling more and more the silent influence of the new.

§ 34. Neo-Platonism.

I. SOURCES.

PLOTINUS: *Opera Omnia*, ed. Oxf. 1835, 8 vols.; ed. Kirchhoff, Lips. 1856; ed. Didot, Par. 1856; H. F. Müller, Berlin 1878-80.

PORPHYRIUS: *Κατὰ Χριστιανῶν λόγος* (fragments collected in Holstein: *Dissert. de vita et scriptis Porphyrii*. Rom. 1630). His biographies of Pythagoras, Plotinus, and other works were ed. by A. Nauck, 1860.

¹ Harnack, *l. c.* denies a reference to Polycarp.

² Berneys (*l. c.* p. 43) characterizes Lucian very unfavorably: "ein anscheinend nicht sehr glücklicher Advocat, ist er ohne ernste Studien ins Literatenthum übergegangen; unwissend und leichtfertig trägt er lediglich eine nihilistische Oede in Bezug auf alle religiösen und metaphysischen Fragen zur Schau und reißt alles als verkehrt und lächerlich herunter." Berneys thinks that the Peregrinus Proteus is not directed against the Christians, but against the Cynic philosophers, and more particularly against the then still living Theagenes.

- HIEROCLES: *Δόγματα φιλαλήθεις πρὸς Χριστιανούς* (fragments in Euseb.: *Contra Hierocl. lib.*, and probably also in Macarius Magnes: "Ἀποκριτικὸς ἡ Μονογενὴς, Par. 1876).
- PHILOSTRATUS: *De Vita Apollonii Tyanensis libri octo* (Greek and Latin), Venet. 1501; ed. Westerman, Par. 1840; ed. Kayser, Zürich, 1853, 1870. Also in German, French and English translations.

II. WORKS.

- VOGT: *Neuplatonismus u. Christenthum*. Berl. 1836.
- RITTER: *Gesch. der Philos.* vol. 4th, 1834 (in English by Morrison, Oxf. 1838).
- NEANDER: *Ueber das neunte Buch in der zweiten Enneade des Plotinus*. 1843. (vid. Neander's *Wissenschaftl. Abhandlungen*, published by Jacobi, Berl. 1851, p. 22 sqq.)
- ULLMANN: *Einfluss des Christenthums auf Porphyrius*, in "Stud. u. Krit." 1832.
- KIRCHNER: *Die Philosophie des Plotin*. Halle, 1854.
- F. CHR. BAUR: *Apollonius von Tyana u. Christus*. Tüb. 1832, republ. by Ed. Zeller, in *Drei Abhandlungen zur Gesch. der alten Philosophie u. ihres Verh. zum Christenthum*. Leipzig, 1876, pp. 1-227.
- JOHN H. NEWMAN: *Apollonius Tyanæus*. Lond. 1849 (Encycl. Metropol. Vol. X., pp. 619-644).
- A. CHASSANG: *Ap. de T., sa vie, ses voyages, ses prodiges*, etc. Paris, 1862. Translation from the Greek, with explanatory notes.
- H. KELLNER: *Porphyrius und sein Verhältniss zum Christenthum*, in the Tübingen "Theol. Quartalschrift," 1865. No. I.
- ALBERT RÉVILLE: *Apollonius of Tyana, the Pagan Christ of the third century*, translated from the French. Lond. 1866.
- K. MÖNKEBERG: *Apollonius v. Tyana*. Hamb. 1877.
- FR. UEBERWEG: *History of Philosophy* (Eng. transl. N. York, 1871), vol. I. 232-259.
- ED. ZELLER: *Philosophie der Griechen*, III. 419 sqq.

More earnest and dignified, but for this very reason more lasting and dangerous, was the opposition which proceeded directly and indirectly from Neo-Platonism. This system presents the last phase, the evening red, so to speak, of the Grecian philosophy; a fruitless effort of dying heathenism to revive itself against the irresistible progress of Christianity in its freshness and vigor. It was a pantheistic eclecticism and a philosophico-religious syncretism, which sought to reconcile Platonic and Aristotelian philosophy with Oriental religion and theosophy, polytheism with monotheism, superstition with cul-

ture, and to hold, as with convulsive grasp, the old popular religion in a refined and idealized form. Some scattered Christian ideas also were unconsciously let in; Christianity already filled the atmosphere of the age too much, to be wholly shut out. As might be expected, this compound of philosophy and religion was an extravagant, fantastic, heterogeneous affair, like its contemporary, Gnosticism, which differed from it by formally recognising Christianity in its syncretism. Most of the Neo-Platonists, Jamblichus in particular, were as much hierophants and theurgists as philosophers, devoted themselves to divination and magic, and boasted of divine inspirations and visions. Their literature is not an original, healthy natural product, but an abnormal after-growth.

In a time of inward distraction and dissolution the human mind hunts up old and obsolete systems and notions, or resorts to magical and theurgic arts. Superstition follows on the heels of unbelief, and atheism often stands closely connected with the fear of ghosts and the worship of demons. The enlightened emperor Augustus was troubled, if he put on his left shoe first in the morning, instead of the right; and the accomplished elder Pliny wore amulets as protection from thunder and lightning. In their day the long-forgotten Pythagoreanism was conjured from the grave and idealized. Sorcerers like Simon Magus, Elymas, Alexander of Abonoteichos, and Apollonius of Tyana (d. A. D. 96), found great favor even with the higher classes, who laughed at the fables of the gods. Men turned wishfully to the past, especially to the mysterious East, the land of primitive wisdom and religion. The Syrian cultus was sought out; and all sorts of religions, all the sense and all the nonsense of antiquity found a rendezvous in Rome. Even a succession of Roman emperors, from Septimius Severus, at the close of the second century, to Alexander Severus, embraced this religious syncretism, which, instead of supporting the old Roman state religion, helped to undermine it.¹

¹ The oldest apostle of this strange medley of Hellenic, Persian, Chaldean, Vol. II. 7.

After the beginning of the third century this tendency found philosophical expression and took a reformatory turn in Neo-Platonism. The magic power, which was thought able to reanimate all these various elements and reduce them to harmony, and to put deep meaning into the old mythology, was the philosophy of the divine Plato; which in truth possessed essentially a mystical character, and was used also by learned Jews, like Philo, and by Christians, like Origen, in their idealizing efforts and their arbitrary allegorical expositions of offensive passages of the Bible. In this view we may find among heathen writers a sort of forerunner of the Neo-Platonists in the pious and noble-minded Platonist, Plutarch of Boeotia (d. 120), who likewise saw a deeper sense in the myths of the popular polytheistic faith, and in general, in his comparative biographies and his admirable moral treatises, looks at the fairest and noblest side of the Græco-Roman antiquity, but often wanders off into the trackless regions of fancy.

The proper founder of Neo-Platonism was Ammonius Saccas, of Alexandria, who was born of Christian parents, but apostatized, and died in the year 243. His more distinguished pupil, Plotinus, also an Egyptian (204-269), developed the Neo-Platonic ideas in systematic form, and gave them firm foothold and wide currency, particularly in Rome, where he taught philosophy. The system was propagated by his pupil Porphyry of Tyre (d. 304), who likewise taught in Rome, by Jamblichus

and Egyptian mysteries in Rome was Nigidius Figulus, who belonged to the strictest section of the aristocracy, and filled the prætorship in 696 A. U. (58 B. C.) He foretold the father of the subsequent emperor Augustus on the very day of his birth his future greatness. The system was consecrated by the name of Pythagoras, the primeval sage of Italian birth, the miracle-worker and necromancer. The new and old wisdom made a profound impression on men of the highest rank and greatest learning, who took part in the citation of spirits, as in the nineteenth century spirit-rapping and table-moving exercised for a while a similar charm. "These last attempts to save the Roman theology, like the similar efforts of Cato in the field of politics, produce at once a comical and a melancholy impression. We may smile at the creed and its propagators, but still it is a grave matter when all men begin to addict themselves to absurdity." Th. Mommsen, *History of Rome*, vol. IV. p. 563 (Dickson's translation. Lond. 1867.)

of Chalcis in Cœlo-Syria (d. 333), and by Proclus of Constantinople (d. 485). It supplanted the popular religion among the educated classes of later heathendom, and held its ground until the end of the fifth century, when it perished of its own internal falsehood and contradictions.

From its love for the ideal, the supernatural, and the mystical, this system, like the original Platonism, might become for many philosophical minds a bridge to faith; and so it was even to St. Augustin, whom it delivered from the bondage of scepticism, and filled with a burning thirst for truth and wisdom. But it could also work against Christianity. Neo-Platonism was, in fact, a direct attempt of the more intelligent and earnest heathenism to rally all its nobler energies, especially the forces of Hellenic philosophy and Oriental mysticism, and to found a universal religion, a pagan counterpart to the Christian. Plotinus, in his opposition to Gnosticism, assailed also, though not expressly, the Christian element it contained. On their syncretistic principles the Neo-Platonists could indeed reverence Christ as a great sage and a hero of virtue, but not as the Son of God. They ranked the wise men of heathendom with him. The emperor Alexander Severus (d. 235) gave Orpheus and Apollonius of Tyana a place in his *lararium* by the side of the bust of Jesus.

The rhetorician Philostratus, the elder, about the year 220, at the request of Julia Domna, the wife of Septimius Severus, and a zealous patron of the reform of paganism, idealized the life of the pagan magician and soothsayer Apollonius, of the Pythagorean school, and made him out an ascetic saint, a divinely inspired philosopher, a religious reformer and worker of miracles, with the purpose, as is generally assumed, though without direct evidence, of holding him up as a rival of Christ with equal claims to the worship of men.¹

¹ Philostratus himself gives no intimation of such design on his part, and simply states that he was requested by the empress Julia Domna (A. D. 217), to draw up a biography of Apollonius from certain memoranda of Damis, one of his friends and followers. The name of Christ is never mentioned by him;

The points of resemblance are chiefly these: Jesus was the Son of God, Apollonius the son of Jupiter; the birth of Christ was celebrated by the appearance of angels, that of Apollonius by a flash of lightning; Christ raised the daughter of Jairus, Apollonius a young Roman maiden, from the dead; Christ cast out demons, Apollonius did the same; Christ rose from the dead, Apollonius appeared after his death. Apollonius is made to combine also several characteristics of the apostles, as the miraculous gift of tongues, for he understood all the languages of the world. Like St. Paul, he received his earlier education at Tarsus, labored at Antioch, Ephesus, and other cities, and was persecuted by Nero. Like the early Christians, he was falsely accused of sacrificing children with certain mysterious ceremonies.¹

With the same secret polemical aim Porphyry and Jamblichus embellished the life of Pythagoras, and set him forth as the highest model of wisdom, even a divine being incarnate, a Christ of heathenism.

These various attempts to Christianize paganism were of course as abortive as so many attempts to galvanize a corpse. They made no impression upon their age, much less upon ages following. They were indirect arguments in favor of Christianity: they proved the internal decay of the false, and the irresistible progress of the true religion, which began to mould the spirit of the age and to affect public opinion outside of the church. By inventing false characters in imitation of Christ

nor does he allude to the Gospels, except in one instance, where he uses the same phrase as the *dæmon* in St. Luke (viii. 28): "I beseech thee, torment me not (*μή με βασανίσῃς*). *Vita Apoll.* IV. 25. Bishop Samuel Parker, in a work on the Divine Authority of the Christian Religion (1681), Lardner, Neander (*K. G. I.* 298), and J. S. Watson (in a review of Réville's *Apoll. of T.*, in the "Contemporary Review" for 1867, p. 199 ff.), deny the commonly received opinion, first maintained by Bishop Daniel Hust, and defended by Baur, Newman, and Réville, that Philostratus intended to draw a parallel between his hero and Christ. The resemblance is studied and fictitious, and it is certain that at a later date Hierocles vainly endeavored to lower the dignity of Christ by raising this Pythagorean adventurer as portrayed by Philostratus, to a level with the eternal Son of God.

¹ Comp. the account of the resemblance by Baur, *l. c.* pp. 138 sqq.

they indirectly conceded to the historical Christ his claim to the admiration and praise of mankind.

§ 35. *Porphyry and Hierocles.*

See the Lit. in § 34.

One of the leading Neo-Platonists made a direct attack upon Christianity, and was, in the eyes of the church fathers, its bitterest and most dangerous enemy. Towards the end of the third century Porphyry wrote an extended work against the Christians, in fifteen books, which called forth numerous refutations from the most eminent church teachers of the time, particularly from Methodius of Tyre, Eusebius of Cæsarea, and Apollinaris of Laodicea. In 448 all the copies were burned by order of the emperors Theodosius II. and Valentinian III., and we know the work now only from fragments in the fathers.

Porphyry attacked especially the sacred books of the Christians, with more knowledge than Celsus. He endeavored, with keen criticism, to point out the contradictions between the Old Testament and the New, and among the apostles themselves; and thus to refute the divinity of their writings. He represented the prophecies of Daniel as *vaticinia post eventum*, and censured the allegorical interpretation of Origen, by which transcendental mysteries were foisted into the writings of Moses, contrary to their clear sense. He took advantage, above all, of the collision between Paul and Peter at Antioch (Gal. 2: 11), to reproach the former with a contentious spirit, the latter with error, and to infer from the whole, that the doctrine of such apostles must rest on lies and frauds. Even Jesus himself he charged with equivocation and inconsistency, on account of his conduct in John 7: 8 compared with verse 14.

Still Porphyry would not wholly reject Christianity. Like many rationalists of more recent times, he distinguished the original pure doctrine of Jesus from the second-handed, adulterated doctrine of the apostles. In another work¹ on the

¹ Περὶ τῆς ἐκ λόγων φιλοσοφίας. Fabricius, Mosheim, Neander, and others, treat the work as genuine, but Lardner denies it to Porphyry.

“Philosophy of Oracles,” often quoted by Eusebius, and also by Augustin,¹ he says, we must not calumniate Christ, who was most eminent for piety, but only pity those who worship him as God. “That pious soul, exalted to heaven, is become, by a sort of fate, an occasion of delusion to those souls from whom fortune withholds the gifts of the gods and the knowledge of the immortal Zeus.” Still more remarkable in this view is a letter to his wife Marcella, which A. Mai published at Milan in 1816, in the unfounded opinion that Marcella was a Christian. In the course of this letter Porphyry remarks, that what is born of the flesh is flesh; that by faith, love, and hope we raise ourselves to the Deity; that evil is the fault of man; that God is holy; that the most acceptable sacrifice to him is a pure heart; that the wise man is at once a temple of God and a priest in that temple. For these and other such evidently Christian ideas and phrases he no doubt had a sense of his own, which materially differed from their proper scriptural meaning. But such things show how Christianity in that day exerted, even upon its opponents, a power, to which heathenism was forced to yield an unwilling assent.

The last literary antagonist of Christianity in our period is Hierocles, who, while governor of Bythynia, and afterwards of Alexandria under Diocletian, persecuted that religion also with the sword, and exposed Christian maidens to a worse fate than death. His “Truth-loving Words to the Christians” has been destroyed, like Porphyry’s work, by the mistaken zeal of Christian emperors, and is known to us only through the answer of Eusebius of Cæsarea.² He appears to have merely repeated the objections of Celsus and Porphyry, and to have drawn a

¹ *De Civit. Dei*, l. XIX. c. 22, 23; comp. also Eusebius, *Demonstr. Evang.* III. 6.

² To this may be added the extracts from an unnamed heathen philosopher (probably Hierocles or Porphyrius) in the apologetic work of Macarius Magnes (about 400), which was discovered at Athens in 1867, and published by Blondel, Paris 1876. See L. Duchesne, *De Marcario Magneto et scriptis ejus*, Par. 1877, and Zöckler in Herzog, ed. II. vol. IX. 160.

comparison between Christ and Apollonius of Tyana, which resulted in favor of the latter. The Christians, says he, consider Jesus a God, on account of some insignificant miracles falsely colored up by his apostles; but the heathens far more justly declare the greater wonder-worker Apollonius, as well as an Aristeas and a Pythagoras, simply a favorite of the gods and a benefactor of men.

§ 36. *Summary of the Objections to Christianity.*

In general the leading arguments of the Judaism and heathenism of this period against the new religion are the following :

1. Against Christ: his illegitimate birth; his association with poor, unlettered fishermen, and rude publicans: his form of a servant, and his ignominious death. But the opposition to him gradually ceased. While Celsus called him a downright impostor, the Syncretists and Neo-Platonists were disposed to regard him as at least a distinguished sage.

2. Against Christianity: its novelty; its barbarian origin; its want of a national basis; the alleged absurdity of some of its facts and doctrines, particularly of regeneration and the resurrection; contradictions between the Old and New Testaments, among the Gospels, and between Paul and Peter; the demand for a blind, irrational faith.

3. Against the Christians: atheism, or hatred of the gods; the worship of a crucified malefactor; poverty, and want of culture and standing; desire of innovation; division and sectarianism; want of patriotism; gloomy seriousness; credulity; superstition, and fanaticism. Sometimes they were charged even with unnatural crimes, like those related in the pagan mythology of Oedipus and his mother Jocaste (*concubitus Oedipodei*), and of Thyestes and Atreus (*epulæ Thyestee*). Perhaps some Gnostic sects ran into scandalous excesses; but as against the Christians in general this charge was so clearly unfounded, that it is not noticed even by Celsus and

Lucian. The senseless accusation, that they worshipped an ass's head, may have arisen, as Tertullian already intimates,¹ from a story of Tacitus, respecting some Jews, who were once directed by a wild ass to fresh water, and thus relieved from the torture of thirst; and it is worth mentioning, only to show how passionate and blind was the opposition with which Christianity in this period of persecution had to contend.

§ 37. *The Apologetic Literature of Christianity.*

Comp. Lit. in § 1 and 12.

- I. The sources are all the writings of the Apologists of the second and third centuries; particularly JUSTIN M.: *Apologia I.* and *II.*; TERTULL.: *Apologeticus*; MINUCIUS FELIX: *Octavius*; ORIGEN: *Contra Celsum* (κατὰ Κέλσου) libr. VIII. ARISTIDIS, *Philosophi Atheniensis, Sermones duo*, Venetiis 1878. (From an Armenian translation). Complete editions of the Apologists: *Apologg. Christ. Opp.* ed. Prud. Maranus, Par. 1742; *Corpus Apologetarum Christianorum sæculi secundi*, ed. Th. Otto, Jenae, 1847 sqq. ed. III. 1876 sqq.
- II. FABRICIUS: *Delectus argumentorum et Syllabus scriptorum, qui veritatem rel. Christ. asseruerunt.* Hamb. 1725.
- TZSCHIRNER: *Geschichte der Apologetik.* Lpz. 1805 (unfinished).
- G. H. VAN SANDEN: *Gesch. der Apol.* translated from Dutch into German by Quack and Binder. Stuttg. 1846. 2 vols.
- SEMISCH: *Justin der Märt.* Bresl. 1840. II. 56-225.
- W. B. COLTON: *The Evidences of Christianity as exhibited in the writings of its Apologists down to Augustine* (Hulsean Prize Essay, 1852), republ. in Boston, 1854.
- KARL WERNER (B. C.): *Geschichte der apologetischen und polemischen Literatur der christl. Theologie.* Schaffhausen, 1861-'65. 5 vols. (vol. I. belongs here).
- JAMES DONALDSON: *A Critical History of Christian Literature and Doctrine from the Death of the Apostles to the Nicene Council.* London, 1864-66. 3 vols.
- ADOLF HARNACK: *Die Ueberlieferung der Griechischen Apologeten des zweiten Jahrhunderts in der alten Kirche und im Mittelalter.* Band I. Heft 1 and 2. Leipz. 1882.

These assaults of argument and calumny called forth in the second century the Christian apologetic literature, the vindica-

¹ *Apol.* c. 16: "Somniasitis caput asininum esse deum nostrum. Hanc Cornelius Tacitus suspitionem ejusmodi dei inseruit," etc.

tion of Christianity by the pen, against the Jewish zealot, the Grecian philosopher, and the Roman statesman. The Christians were indeed from the first "ready always to give an answer to every man that asked them a reason of the hope that was in them." But when heathenism took the field against them not only with fire and sword, but with argument and slander besides, they had to add to their simple practical testimony a theoretical self-defence. The Christian apology against non-Christian opponents, and the controversial efforts against Christian errorists, are the two oldest branches of theological science.

The apologetic literature began to appear under the reign of Hadrian, and continued to grow till the end of our period. Most of the church teachers took part in this labor of their day. The first apologies, by Quadratus, bishop of Athens, Aristides, philosopher of Athens, and Aristo of Pella, which were addressed to the emperor Hadrian, and the later works of Melito of Sardis, Claudius Apollinaris of Hierapolis, and Miltiades, who lived under Marcus Aurelius, were either entirely lost, or preserved only in scattered notices of Eusebius. But some interesting fragments of Melito and Aristides have been recently discovered.¹ More valuable are the apologetical works of the Greek philosopher and martyr, Justin (d. 166), which we possess in full. After him come, in the Greek church, Tatian, Athenagoras, Theophilus of Antioch, and Hermias in the last half of the second century, and Origen, the ablest of all, in the first half of the third.

The most important Latin apologists are Tertullian (d. about 220), Minucius Felix (d. between 220 and 230; according to some, between 161 and 180), the later Arnobius and Lactantius, all of North Africa.

Here at once appears the characteristic difference between the

¹ See on the works of these Apologists, lost and partly recovered, Harnack, *l. c.* pp. 100 sqq.; 240 sqq.; and Renan, *L'egl. chrét.* p. 40 sqq. We shall refer to them in the chapter on Christian literature.

Greek and the Latin minds. The Greek apologies are more learned and philosophical, the Latin more practical and juridical in their matter and style. The former labor to prove the truth of Christianity and its adaptedness to the intellectual wants of man; the latter plead for its legal right to exist, and exhibit mainly its moral excellency and salutary effect upon society. The Latin also are in general more rigidly opposed to heathenism, while the Greek recognize in the Grecian philosophy a certain affinity to the Christian religion.

The apologies were addressed in some cases to the emperors (Hadrian, Antoninus Pius, Marcus Aurelius) or the provincial governors; in others, to the intelligent public. Their first object was to soften the temper of the authorities and people towards Christianity and its professors by refuting the false charges against them. It may be doubtful whether they ever reached the hands of the emperors; at all events the persecution continued.¹ Conversion commonly proceeds from the heart and will, not from the understanding and from knowledge. No doubt, however, these writings contributed to dissipate prejudice among honest and susceptible heathens, to spread more favorable news of the new religion, and to infuse a spirit of humanity into the spirit of the age, the systems of moral philosophy and the legislation of the Antonines.

Yet the chief service of this literature was to strengthen believers and to advance theological knowledge. It brought the church to a deeper and clearer sense of the peculiar nature of the Christian religion, and prepared her thenceforth to vindicate it before the tribunal of reason and philosophy; whilst Judaism and heathenism proved themselves powerless in the combat, and were driven to the weapons of falsehood and vituperation. The sophisms and mockeries of a Celsus and a Lucian have none but a historical interest; the Apologies of Justin and the Apologeticus of Tertullian, rich with indestructible truth and

¹ Orosius, however, relates in his *Hist.* vii. 14, that Justin M., by his Apology, made the emperor Antoninus Pius "*benignum erga Christianos.*"

glowing piety, are read with pleasure and edification to this day.

The apologists do not confine themselves to the defensive, but carry the war aggressively into the territory of Judaism and heathenism. They complete their work by positively demonstrating that Christianity is the divine religion, and the only true religion for all mankind.

§ 38. *The Argument against Judaism.*

In regard to the controversy with Judaism, we have two principal sources: the Dialogue of Justin Martyr with the Jew Trypho,¹ based, it appears, on real interviews of Justin with Trypho; and Tertullian's work against the Jews.² Another work from the first half of the second century by Aristo of Pella, entitled "A Disputation of Jason and Papiscus concerning Christ," is lost.³ It was known to Celsus who speaks contemptuously of it on account of its allegorical interpretation. Origen deems it useful for ordinary readers, though not calculated to make much impression on scholars. It was intended to show the fulfillment of the old prophecies in Christ, and ends with the conviction of the Jew Papiscus and his baptism by Jason. The author was a Jewish Christian of Pella, the city of refuge for the Christians of Jerusalem before the destruction.

I. The DEFENSIVE apology answered the Jewish objections thus:

(1) Against the charge, that Christianity is an apostasy from the Jewish religion, it was held, that the Mosaic law, as far as it relates to outward rites and ceremonies was only a temporary institution for the Jewish nation foreshadowing the substance of Christianity, while its moral precepts as contained in the Decalogue were kept in their deepest spiritual sense only by

¹ *Διάλογος πρὸς Τρίφωνα Ἰουδαίου.*

² *Adversus Judæos.* Also Cyprian's *Testimonia adv. Judæos.*

³ *Ἰάσωρος καὶ Παπίσκου ἀντιλογία περὶ Χριστοῦ.* Comp. the discussion of Harnack, *l. c.* pp. 115-130. He assigns the book to A. D. 135 or soon after. It disappeared in the seventh century.

Christians; that the Old Testament itself points to its own dissolution and the establishment of a new covenant;¹ that Abraham was justified before he was circumcised, and women, who could not be circumcised, were yet saved.

(2) Against the assertion, that the servant-form of Jesus of Nazareth, and his death by the cross, contradicted the Old Testament idea of the Messiah, it was urged, that the appearance of the Messiah is to be regarded as twofold, first, in the form of a servant, afterwards in glory; and that the brazen serpent in the wilderness, and the prophecies of David in Psalm 22, of Isaiah in ch. 53, and Zech. 13, themselves point to the sufferings of Christ as his way to glory.

(3) To the objection, that the divinity of Jesus contradicts the unity of God and is blasphemy, it was replied, that the Christians believe likewise in only one God; that the Old Testament itself makes a distinction in the divine nature; that the plural expression: "Let us make man,"² the appearance of the three men at Mamre,³ of whom one was confessedly God,⁴ yet distinct from the Creator,⁵ indicate this; and that all theophanies (which in Justin's view are as many christophanies), and the Messianic Psalms,⁶ which ascribe divine dignity to the Messiah, show the same.

II. The AGGRESSIVE apology or polemic theology urges as evidence against Judaism:

(1) First and mainly that the prophecies and types of the Old Testament are fulfilled in Jesus Christ and his church. Justin finds all the outlines of the gospel history predicted in the Old Testament: the Davidic descent of Jesus, for example, in Isa. 11: 1; the birth from a virgin in 7: 14; the birth at Bethlehem in Micah 5: 1; the flight into Egypt in Hosea 11: 1 (rather than Ps. 22: 10?); the appearance of the Baptist

¹ Isa. 51: 4 sqq.; 55: 3 sqq.; Jer. 31: 31 sqq.

² Gen. 1: 26; comp. 3: 22.

³ Gen. 18: 1 sqq.

⁴ 21: 12.

⁵ 19: 24.

⁶ Ps. 110: 1 sqq.; 45: 7 sqq.; 72: 2-19, and others.

in Is. 40: 1-17; Mal. 4: 5; the heavenly voice at the baptism of Jesus in Ps. 2: 7; the temptation in the wilderness under the type of Jacob's wrestling in Gen. 32: 24 sqq.; the miracles of our Lord in Is. 35: 5; his sufferings and the several circumstances of his crucifixion in Is. 53 and Ps. 22. In this effort, however, Justin wanders also, according to the taste of his uncritical age, into arbitrary fancies and allegorical conceits; as when he makes the two goats, of which one carried away the sins into the wilderness, and the other was sacrificed, types of the first and second advents of Christ; and sees in the twelve bells on the robe of the high priest a type of the twelve apostles, whose sound goes forth into all the world.¹

(2) The destruction of Jerusalem, in which Judaism, according to the express prediction of Jesus, was condemned by God himself, and Christianity was gloriously vindicated. Here the Jewish priest and historian Josephus, who wrote from personal observation a graphic description of this tragedy, had to furnish a powerful historical argument against his own religion and for the truth of Christianity. Tertullian sums up the prophetic predictions of the calamities which have befallen the Jews for rejecting Christ, "the sense of the Scriptures harmonizing with the events."²

§ 39. *The Defense against Heathenism.*

I. The various OBJECTIONS and ACCUSATIONS of the heathens, which we have collected in § 36, were founded for the most part on ignorance or hatred, and in many cases contradicted themselves.

(1) The attack upon the miraculous in the evangelical history the apologists could meet by pointing to the similar element in the heathen mythology; of course proposing this merely in the way of *argumentum ad hominem*, to deprive the opposition of the right to object. For the credibility of the miraculous accounts in the Gospels, particularly that of the resurrection of

¹ Ps. 19: 4; comp. Rom. 10: 18.

² *Adv. Jud.* c. 13.

Jesus, Origen appealed to the integrity and piety of the narrators, to the publicity of the death of Jesus, and to the effects of that event.

(2) The novelty and late appearance of Christianity were justified by the need of historical preparation in which the human race should be divinely trained for Christ; but more frequently it was urged also, that Christianity existed in the counsel of God from eternity, and had its unconscious votaries, especially among the pious Jews, long before the advent of Christ. By claiming the Mosaic records, the apologists had greatly the advantage as regards antiquity over any form of paganism, and could carry their religion, in its preparatory state, even beyond the flood and up to the very gates of paradise. Justin and Tatian make great account of the fact that Moses is much older than the Greek philosophers, poets, and legislators. Athenagoras turns the tables, and shows that the very names of the heathen gods are modern, and their statues creations of yesterday. Clement of Alexandria calls the Greek philosophers thieves and robbers, because they stole certain portions of truth from the Hebrew prophets and adulterated them. Tertullian, Minucius Felix and others raise the same charge of plagiarism.

(3) The doctrine of the resurrection of the body, so peculiarly offensive to the heathen and Gnostic understanding, was supported, as to its possibility, by reference to the omnipotence of God, and to the creation of the world and of man; and its propriety and reasonableness were argued from the divine image in man, from the high destiny of the body to be the temple of the Holy Spirit, and from its intimate connection with the soul, as well as from the righteousness and goodness of God. The argument from analogy was also very generally used, but often without proper discrimination. Thus, Theophilus alludes to the decline and return of the seasons, the alternations of day and night, the renewal of the waning and waxing moon, the growth of seeds and fruits. Tertullian expresses his surprise that anybody should deny the possibility and probability

of the resurrection in view of the mystery of our birth and the daily occurrences of surrounding nature. "All things," he says, "are preserved by dissolution, renewed by perishing; and shall man the lord of all this universe of creatures, which die and rise again, himself die only to perish forever?"¹

(4) The charge of immoral conduct and secret vice the apologists might repel with just indignation, since the New Testament contains the purest and noblest morality, and the general conduct of the Christians compared most favorably with that of the heathens. "Shame! shame!" they justly cried; "to roll upon the innocent what you are openly guilty of, and what belongs to you and your gods!" Origen says in the preface to the first book against Celsus: "When false witness was brought against our blessed Saviour, the spotless Jesus, he held his peace, and when he was accused, returned no answer, being fully persuaded that the tenor of his life and conduct among the Jews was the best apology that could possibly be made in his behalf. And even now he preserves the same silence, and makes no other answer than the unblemished lives of his sincere followers; they are his most cheerful and successful advocates, and have so loud a voice that they drown the clamors of the most zealous and bigoted adversaries."

II. To their defence the Christians, with the rising consciousness of victory, added direct ARGUMENTS AGAINST HEATHENISM, which were practically sustained by its dissolution in the following period.

(1) The popular religion of the heathens, particularly the doctrine of the gods, is unworthy, contradictory, absurd, immoral, and pernicious. The apologists and most of the early church teachers looked upon the heathen gods not as mere imaginations or personified powers of nature or deifications of

¹ *Apolog.* c. 43. Comp. his special tract *De Resurrectione Carnis*, c. 12, where he defends the doctrine more fully against the Gnostics and their radical misconception of the nature and import of the body.

distinguished men, but as demons or fallen angels. They took this view from the Septuagint version of Ps. 96 : 5,¹ and from the immorality of those deities, which was charged to demons (even sexual intercourse with fair daughters of men, according to Gen. 6 : 2).

"What sad fates," says Minucius Felix, "what lies, ridiculous things, and weaknesses we read of the pretended gods! Even their form, how pitiable it is! Vulcan limps; Mercury has wings to his feet; Pan is hoofed; Saturn in fetters; and Janus has two faces, as if he walked backwards. Sometimes Hercules is a hostler, Apollo a cow-herd, and Neptune, Laomedon's mason, cheated of his wages. There we have the thunder of Jove and the arms of Aeneas forged on the same anvil (as if the heavens and the thunder and lightning did not exist before Jove was born in Crete); the adultery of Mars and Venus; the lewdness of Jupiter with Ganymede, all of which were invented for the gods to authorize men in their wickedness." "Which of the poets," asks Tertullian, "does not calumniate your gods? One sets Apollo to keep sheep; another hires out Neptune to build a wall; Pindar declares Æsculapius was deservedly scathed for his avarice in exercising the art of medicine to a bad purpose; whilst the writers of tragedy and comedy alike, take for their subjects the crimes or the miseries of the deities. Nor are the philosophers behindhand in this respect. Out of pure contempt, they would swear by an oak, a goat, a dog. Diogenes turned Hercules into ridicule; and the Roman Cynic Varro introduces three hundred Joves without heads." From the stage abuser the sarcastic African father selects, partly from his own former observation, those of Diana being flogged, the reading of Jupiter's will after his decease, and the three half-starved Herculeesses! Justin brings up the infanticide of Saturn, the parricide, the anger, and the adultery of Jupiter, the drunkenness of Bacchus, the voluptuousness of Venus, and he appeals to the judgment of the better heathens,

¹ Πάντες οἱ θεοὶ τῶν ἐθνῶν δαίμονια. Comp. 1 Cor. 10 : 20.

who were ashamed of these scandalous histories of the gods; to Plato, for example, who for this reason banishes Homer from his ideal State. Those myths, which had some resemblance to the Old Testament prophecies or the gospel history, Justin regards as caricatures of the truth, framed by demons by abuse of Scripture. The story of Bacchus, for instance, rests in his fanciful view, on Gen. 49: 11 sq.; the myth of the birth of Perseus from a virgin, on Is. 7: 14; that of the wandering of Hercules, on Ps. 19: 6; the fiction of the miracles of Esculapius on Is. 35: 1 sqq.

Origen asks Celsus, why it is that he can discover profound mysteries in those strange and senseless accidents, which have befallen his gods and goddesses, showing them to be polluted with crimes and doing many shameful things; whilst Moses, who says nothing derogatory to the character of God, angel, or man, is treated as an impostor. He challenges any one to compare Moses and his laws with the best Greek writers; and yet Moses was as far inferior to Christ, as he was superior to the greatest of heathen sages and legislators.

(2) The Greek philosophy, which rises above the popular belief, is not suited to the masses, cannot meet the religious wants, and confutes itself by its manifold contradictions. Socrates, the wisest of all the philosophers, himself acknowledged that he knew nothing. On divine and human things Justin finds the philosophers at variance among themselves; with Thales water is the ultimate principle of all things; with Anaximander, air; with Heraclitus, fire; with Pythagoras, number. Even Plato not seldom contradicts himself; now supposing three fundamental causes (God, matter, and ideas), now four (adding the world-soul); now he considers matter as unbegotten, now as begotten; at one time he ascribes substantiality to ideas, at another makes them mere forms of thought, etc. Who, then, he concludes, would intrust to the philosophers the salvation of his soul?

(3) But, on the other hand, the Greek apologists recognized also elements of truth in the Hellenic literature, especially in

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the Platonic and Stoic philosophy, and saw in them, as in the law and the prophecies of Judaism, a preparation of the way for Christianity. Justin attributes all the good in heathenism to the divine Logos, who, even before his incarnation, scattered the seeds of truth (hence the name "Logos spermatikos"), and incited susceptible spirits to a holy walk. Thus there were Christians before Christianity; and among these he expressly reckons Socrates and Heraclitus.¹ Besides, he supposed that Pythagoras, Plato, and other educated Greeks, in their journeys to the East, became acquainted with the Old Testament writings, and drew from them the doctrine of the unity of God, and other like truths, though they in various ways misunderstood them, and adulterated them with pagan errors. This view of a certain affinity between the Grecian philosophy and Christianity, as an argument in favor of the new religion, was afterwards further developed by the Alexandrian fathers, Clement and Origen.²

The Latin fathers speak less favorably of the Greek philosophy; yet even Augustin acknowledges that the Platonists approach so nearly to Christian truth that with a change of some expressions and sentences they would be true Christians (in theory).³

§ 40. *The Positive Apology.*

The Christian apology completed itself in the positive demonstration of the divinity of the new religion; which was at the same time the best refutation of both the old ones. As

¹ Also the Stoics and some of the poets as far as their moral teaching went, comp. Just. *Apol.* II. c. 8, and 13.

² See the introduction of E. Spiess to his *Logos spermatikos*, Leipz. 1871.

³ *De Vera Religione* IV. 7: "*Proxime Platonici a veritate Christiana absunt vel veri Christiani sunt paucis mutatis verbis atque sentiis.*" *Retract.* I. 13: "*Res ipsa quae nunc religio Christiana nuncupatur, erat apud antiquos, nec defuit ab initio generis humani, quousque Christus veniret in carnem, unde vera religio, quae jam erat, coepit appellari Christiana.*" Comp. Lactantius, *De Falsa Religione*, I. 5; *De Vita Beata*, VII. 7; Minucius Fel., *Octav.* 20.

early as this period the strongest historical and philosophical arguments for Christianity were brought forward, or at least indicated, though in connection with many untenable adjuncts.

1. The great argument, not only with Jews, but with heathens also, was the PROPHECIES; since the knowledge of future events can come only from God. The first appeal of the apologists was, of course, to the prophetic writings of the Old Testament, in which they found, by a very liberal interpretation, every event of the gospel history and every lineament of our Saviour's character and work. In addition to the Scriptures, even such fathers as Clement of Alexandria, and, with more caution, Origen, Eusebius, St. Jerome, and St. Augustin, employed also, without hesitation, apocryphal prophecies, especially the Sibylline oracles, a medley of ancient heathen, Jewish, and in part Christian fictions, about a golden age, the coming of Christ, the fortunes of Rome, and the end of the world.¹ And indeed, this was not all error and pious fraud. Through all heathenism there runs, in truth, a dim, unconscious presentiment and longing hope of Christianity. Think of the fourth Eclogue of Virgil, with its predictions of the "virgo" and "nova progenies" from heaven, and the "puer," with whom, after the blotting out of sin and the killing of the serpent, a golden age of peace was to begin. For this reason Virgil was the favorite poet of the Latin church during the middle ages, and figures prominently in Dante's *Divina Comedia* as his guide through the dreary regions of the Inferno and Purgatorio to the very gates of Paradise. Another pseudo-prophetic book used

¹ Comp. DR. FRIEDLIEB: *Die Sibyllinischen Weissagungen vollständig gesammelt, mit kritischem Commentare und metrischer Uebersetzung.* Leipz. 1852. Another edition with a Latin version by C. ALEXANDRE, Paris 1841, second ed. 1869, 2 tom. We have at present twelve books of *χρησμοί σιβυλλιακοί* in Greek hexameters, and some fragments. They have been critically discussed by Blondel (1649), Bleek (1819), Volkmann (1853), Ewald (1858), Lüben (1875), Renss, and Schürer (see lit. in his *N. T. Zeitgesch.* p. 513). The Sibyl figures in the *Dies Irae* alongside with King David (*teste David cum Sibylla*), as prophesying the day of judgment.

by the fathers (Tertullian, Origen, and apparently Jerome) is "The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs," written by a Jewish Christian between A. D. 100 and 120. It puts into the mouth of the twelve sons of Jacob farewell addresses and predictions of the coming of Christ, his death and resurrection, of baptism and the Lord's Supper, the rejection of the gospel by the Jews, and the preaching of Paul, the great apostle of the Gentiles, the destruction of Jerusalem and the end of the world.¹

2. The TYPES. These, too, were found not only in the Old Testament, but in the whole range of nature. Justin saw everywhere, in the tree of life in Eden, in Jacob's ladder, in the rods of Moses and Aaron, nay, in every sailing ship, in the wave-cutting oar, in the plough, in the human countenance, in the human form with outstretched arms, in banners and trophies—the sacred form of the cross, and thus a prefiguration of the mystery of redemption through the crucifixion of the Lord.²

3. The MIRACLES of Jesus and the apostles, with those which continued to be wrought in the name of Jesus, according to the express testimony of the fathers, by their contemporaries. But as the heathens also appealed to miraculous deeds and appearances in favor of their religion, Justin, Arnobius, and particularly Origen, fixed certain criteria, such as the moral purity of the worker, and his intention to glorify God and benefit man, for distinguishing the true miracles from Satanic juggleries. "There might have been some ground," says Origen, "for the comparison which Celsus makes between Jesus and certain

¹ Best edition by ROBERT SINKER from the Cambridge MS., Cambridge, 1869, and an Appendix, 1879; an English translation by Sinker, in the "Ante-Nicene Library," vol. XXII. (Edinb. 1871). Discussions by Nitzsch (1810), Ritschl (1850 and 1857), Vorstmann (1857), Kayser (1851), Lücke (1852), Dillmann (in Herzog, first ed. XII. 315), Lightfoot (1875), and Warfield (in "Presbyt. Review," N. York, January, 1880, on the apologetical value of the work for its allusions to various books of the N. T.).

² *Apol.* I. c. 55; *Dial. c. Tryph.* c. 91.

wandering magicians, if there had appeared in the latter the slightest tendency to beget in persons a true fear of God, and so to regulate their actions in prospect of the day of judgment. But they attempt nothing of the sort. Yea, they themselves are guilty of the most grievous crimes; whereas the Saviour would have his hearers to be convinced by the native beauty of religion and the holy lives of its teachers, rather than by even the miracles they wrought."

The subject of *post-apostolic* miracles is surrounded by much greater difficulties in the absence of inspired testimony, and in most cases even of ordinary immediate witnesses. There is an antecedent probability that the power of working miracles was not suddenly and abruptly, but gradually withdrawn, as the necessity of such outward and extraordinary attestation of the divine origin of Christianity diminished and gave way to the natural operation of truth and moral suasion. Hence St. Augustin, in the fourth century, says: "Since the establishment of the church God does not wish to perpetuate miracles even to our day, lest the mind should put its trust in visible signs, or grow cold at the sight of common marvels."*. But it is impossible to fix the precise termination, either at the death of the apostles, or their immediate disciples, or the conversion of the Roman empire, or the extinction of the Arian heresy, or any subsequent era, and to sift carefully in each particular case the truth from legendary fiction.

It is remarkable that the genuine writings of the ante-Nicene church are more free from miraculous and superstitious elements than the annals of the Nicene age and the middle

* On the other hand, however, St. Augustin lent the authority of his name to some of the most incredible miracles of his age, wrought by the bones of St. Stephen, and even of Gervasius and Protasius. Comp. the treatise of Fr. Nitzsch (jun.) on Augustin's Doctrine of Miracles, Berlin 1865; and on the general subject J. H. Newman's *Two Essays on Biblical and Ecclesiastical Miracles*, third ed. London 1873; and J. B. Mozley's *Bampton Lectures On Miracles*. Oxford and Lond. (1865), fifth ed. 1880, Lect. VIII. which treats of false miracles.

ages. The history of monasticism teems with miracles even greater than those of the New Testament. Most of the statements of the apologists are couched in general terms, and refer to extraordinary cures from demoniacal possession (which probably includes, in the language of that age, cases of madness, deep melancholy, and epilepsy) and other diseases, by the invocation of the name of Jesus.¹ Justin Martyr speaks of such cures as a frequent occurrence in Rome and all over the world, and Origen appeals to his own personal observation, but speaks in another place of the growing scarcity of miracles, so as to suggest the gradual cessation theory as held by Dr. Neander, Bishop Kaye, and others. Tertullian attributes many if not most of the conversions of his day to supernatural dreams and visions, as does also Origen, although with more caution. But in such psychological phenomena it is exceedingly difficult to draw the line of demarcation between natural and supernatural causes, and between providential interpositions and miracles proper. The strongest passage on this subject is found in Irenæus, who, in contending against the heretics, mentions, besides prophecies and miraculous cures of demoniacs, even the raising of the dead among contemporary events taking place in the Catholic church;² but he specifies no particular case or name; and it should be remembered also, that his youth still bordered almost on the Johannean age.

4. The MORAL effect of Christianity upon the heart and life of its professors. The Christian religion has not only taught the purest and sublimest code of morals ever known among men, but actually exhibited it in the life, sufferings, and death of its founder and true followers. All the apologists, from the author of the Epistle to Diognetus down to Origen, Cyprian, and Augustin, bring out in strong colors the infinite superiority

¹ They are analogous to the "faith-cures," real or pretended, of our own age.

² *Adv. Hæc.* II. 31, § 2, and II. 32, § 4: 'Ὅτι δὲ καὶ νεκροὶ ἠγέρθησαν καὶ παρήμενον σὺν ἡμῖν ἰκανοὶ ἔσονται. These two passages can hardly be explained, with Heumann and Neander, as referring merely to cases of apparent death.

of Christian ethics over the heathen, and their testimony* is fully corroborated by the practical fruits of the church, as we shall have occasion more fully to show in another chapter. "They think us senseless," says Justin, "because we worship this Christ, who was crucified under Pontius Pilate, as God next to the Father. But they would not say so, if they knew the mystery of the cross. By its fruits they may know it. We, who once lived in debauchery, now study chastity; we, who dealt in sorceries, have consecrated ourselves to the good, the increate God; we, who loved money and possessions above all things else, now devote our property freely to the general good, and give to every needy one; we, who fought and killed each other, now pray for our enemies; those who persecute us in hatred, we kindly try to appease, in the hope that they may share the same blessings which we enjoy."¹

5. The rapid SPREAD of Christianity by purely moral means, and in spite of the greatest external obstacles, yea, the bitter persecution of Jews and Gentiles. The anonymous apologetic Epistle to Diognetus which belongs to the literature of the Apostolic Fathers, already thus urges this point: "Do you not see the Christians exposed to wild beasts, that they may be persuaded to deny the Lord, and yet not overcome? Do you not see that the more of them are punished, the greater becomes the number of the rest? This does not seem to be the work of man: this is the power of God; these are the evidences of his manifestation."² Justin Martyr and Tertullian frequently go on in a similar strain. Origen makes good use of this argument against Celsus, and thinks that so great a success as Christianity met among Greeks and barbarians, learned and unlearned persons in so short a time, without any force or other worldly means, and in view of the united opposition of emperors, senate, governors, generals, priests, and people, can only be rationally accounted for on the ground of an ex-

¹ *Apol.* I. c. 13 and 14.

² *Ad Diogn.* c. 7.

traordinary providence of God and the divine nature of Christ.

6. The REASONABLENESS of Christianity, and its agreement with all the true and the beautiful in the Greek philosophy and poesy. All who had lived rationally before Christ were really, though unconsciously, already Christians. Thus all that is Christian is rational, and all that is truly rational is Christian. Yet, on the other hand, of course, Christianity is supra-rational (not irrational).

7. The ADAPTATION of Christianity to the deepest needs of human nature, which it alone can meet. Here belongs Tertullian's appeal to the "*testimonia animae naturaliter Christianae*;" his profound thought, that the human soul is, in its inmost essence and instinct, predestined for Christianity, and can find rest and peace in that alone. "The soul," says he, "though confined in the prison of the body, though perverted by bad training, though weakened by lusts and passions, though given to the service of false gods, still no sooner awakes from its intoxication and its dreams, and recovers its health, than it calls upon God by the one name due to him: 'Great God! good God!'"—and then looks, not to the capitol, but to heaven; for it knows the abode of the living God, from whom it proceeds."¹

This deep longing of the human soul for the living God in Christ, Augustin, in whom Tertullian's spirit returned purified and enriched, afterwards expressed in the grand sentence: "Thou, O God, hast made us for thee, and our heart is restless, till it rests in thee."²

¹ Tert. *Apolog.* c. 17. Comp. the beautiful passage in *De Testim. Animæ*, c. 2: "*Si enim anima aut divina aut a Deo data est, sine dubio datorem suum novit, et si novit, utique et tñnet . . . O testimonium veritatis, quæ apud ipsa demonia testem efficit Christianorum.*"

² Aug. *Confess.* I. 1: "*Fecisti nos ad Te, et inquietum est cor nostrum, donec requiescat in Te.*"

CHAPTER IV.

ORGANIZATION AND DISCIPLINE OF THE CHURCH.

- I. The chief sources for this chapter are the Epistles of IGNATIUS, the works of IRENÆUS, TERTULLIAN, and especially CYPRIAN, and the so-called CONSTITUTIONES APOSTOLICÆ.
- II. See the Literature in vol. I. § 58 (p. 481 sqq.), particularly the works of ROTHE, RITSCHL, LIGHTFOOT, and HATCH.

§ 41. *Progress in Consolidation.*

IN the external organization of the church, several important changes appear in the period before us. The distinction of clergy and laity, and the sacerdotal view of the ministry becomes prominent and fixed; subordinate church offices are multiplied; the episcopate arises; the beginnings of the Roman primacy appear; and the exclusive unity of the Catholic church develops itself in opposition to heretics and schismatics. The apostolical organization of the first century now gives place to the old Catholic episcopal system; and this, in its turn, passes into the metropolitan, and after the fourth century into the patriarchal. Here the Greek church stopped, and is governed to this day by a hierarchical oligarchy of patriarchs equal in rank and jurisdiction; while the Latin church went a step further, and produced in the middle ages the papal monarchy. The germs of this papacy likewise betray themselves even in our present period, particularly in Cyprian, together with a protest against it. Cyprian himself is as much a witness for consolidated primacy, as for independent episcopacy, and hence often used and abused alike by Romanists and Anglicans for sectarian purposes.

The characteristics, however, of the pre-Constantinian hier-

archy, in distinction from the post-Constantinian, both Greek and Roman, are, first, its grand simplicity, and secondly, its spirituality, or freedom from all connection with political power and worldly splendor. Whatever influence the church acquired and exercised, she owed nothing to the secular government, which continued indifferent or positively hostile till the protective toleration edict of Constantine (313). Tertullian thought it impossible for an emperor to be a Christian, or a Christian to be an emperor; and even after Constantine, the Donatists persisted in this view, and cast up to the Catholics the memory of the former age: "What have Christians to do with kings? or what have bishops to do in the palace?"¹ The ante-Nicene fathers expected the ultimate triumph of Christianity over the world from a supernatural interposition at the second Advent. Origen seems to have been the only one in that age of violent persecution who expected that Christianity, by continual growth, would gain the dominion over the world.²

The consolidation of the church and its compact organization implied a restriction of individual liberty, in the interest of order, and a temptation to the abuse of authority. But it was demanded by the diminution of spiritual gifts, which were poured out in such extraordinary abundance in the apostolic age. It made the church a powerful republic within the Roman empire, and contributed much to its ultimate success. "In union is strength," especially in times of danger and persecution such as the church had to pass through in the ante-Nicene age. While we must deny a divine right and perpetual obligation to any peculiar form of government as far as it departs from the simple principles of the New Testament, we may concede a historical necessity and great relative importance to the ante-Nicene and subsequent organizations of the church. Even the papacy was by no means an unmixed evil, but a training school for the barbarian nations during the middle ages.

¹ " *Quid Christianis cum regibus? aut quid episcopis cum palatio?* "

² *Contra Celso*. VIII. 88. Comp. the remarks of Neander, I. 129 (Boston ed.).

Those who condemn, in principle, all hierarchy, sacerdotalism, and ceremonialism, should remember that God himself appointed the priesthood and ceremonies in the Mosaic dispensation, and that Christ submitted to the requirements of the law in the days of his humiliation.

§ 42. *Clergy and Laity.*

The idea and institution of a special priesthood, distinct from the body of the people, with the accompanying notion of sacrifice and altar, passed imperceptibly from Jewish and heathen reminiscences and analogies into the Christian church. The majority of Jewish converts adhered tenaciously to the Mosaic institutions and rites, and a considerable part never fully attained to the height of spiritual freedom proclaimed by Paul, or soon fell away from it. He opposed legalistic and ceremonial tendencies in Galatia and Corinth; and although sacerdotalism does not appear among the errors of his Judaizing opponents, the Levitical priesthood, with its three ranks of high-priest, priest, and Levite, naturally furnished an analogy for the threefold ministry of bishop, priest, and deacon, and came to be regarded as typical of it. Still less could the Gentile Christians, as a body, at once emancipate themselves from their traditional notions of priesthood, altar, and sacrifice, on which their former religion was based. Whether we regard the change as an apostasy from a higher position attained, or as a reaction of old ideas never fully abandoned, the change is undeniable, and can be traced to the second century. The church could not long occupy the ideal height of the apostolic age, and as the pentecostal illumination passed away with the death of the apostles, the old reminiscences began to reassert themselves.¹

¹ Renan, looking at the gradual development of the hierarchy out of the primitive democracy, from his secular point of view, calls it "the most profound transformation" in history, and a triple abdication: first the club (the congregation) committing its power to the bureau or the committee (the college of presbyters), then the bureau to its president (the bishop) who could say:

In the apostolic church preaching and teaching were not confined to a particular class, but every convert could proclaim the gospel to unbelievers, and every Christian who had the gift could pray and teach and exhort in the congregation.¹ The New Testament knows no spiritual aristocracy or nobility, but calls all believers "saints," though many fell far short of their vocation. Nor does it recognize a special priesthood in distinction from the people, as mediating between God and the laity. It knows only one high-priest, Jesus Christ, and clearly teaches the universal priesthood, as well as universal kingship, of believers.² It does this in a far deeper and larger sense than the Old;³ in a sense, too, which even to this day is not yet fully realized. The entire body of Christians are called "clergy" (*κληρoοι*), a peculiar people, the heritage of God.⁴

On the other hand it is equally clear that there was in the apostolic church a ministerial office, instituted by Christ, for the very purpose of raising the mass of believers from infancy and pupillage to independent and immediate intercourse with God,

"*Je suis le club*," and finally the presidents to the pope as the universal and infallible bishop; the last process being completed in the Vatican Council of 1870. See his *L'Eglise chrétienne*, p. 88, and his *English Conferences* (Hibbert Lectures, 1880), p. 90.

¹ Comp. Acts 8: 4; 9: 27; 13: 15; 18: 26, 28; Rom. 12: 6; 1 Cor. 12: 10, 28; 14: 1-6, 31. Even in the Jewish Synagogue the liberty of teaching was enjoyed, and the elder could ask any member of repute, even a stranger, to deliver a discourse on the Scripture lesson (Luke 4: 17; Acts 17: 2).

² 1 Pet. 2: 5, 9; 5: 3; Rev. 1: 6; 5: 10; 20: 6. See Neander, Lightfoot, Stanley, etc., and vol. I. 486 sqq. I add a passage from Hatch's *Bampton Lectures on The Organisation of the Early Christian Churches* (1881), p. 139: "In earlier times there was a grander faith. For the kingdom of God was a kingdom of priests. Not only the 'four and twenty elders' before the throne, but the innumerable souls of the sanctified upon whom 'the second death had no power,' were 'kings and priests unto God.' Only in that high sense was priesthood predicable of Christian men. For the shadow had passed: the reality had come: the one High Priest of Christianity was Christ."

³ Exod. 19: 6.

⁴ 1 Pet. 5: 3. Here Peter warns his fellow-presbyters not to lord it (*κυριτειν*) over the *κληρoοι* or the *κληρονομία*, i. e., the lot or inheritance of the Lord, the charge allotted to them. Comp. Deut. 4: 20; 9: 29 (LXX).

to that prophetic, priestly, and kingly position, which in principle and destination belongs to them all.¹ This work is the gradual process of church history itself, and will not be fully accomplished till the kingdom of glory shall come. But these ministers are nowhere represented as priests in any other sense than Christians generally are priests with the privilege of a direct access to the throne of grace in the name of their one and eternal high-priest in heaven. Even in the Pastoral Epistles which present the most advanced stage of ecclesiastical organization in the apostolic period, while the teaching, ruling, and pastoral functions of the presbyter-bishops are fully discussed, nothing is said about a sacerdotal function. The Apocalypse, which was written still later, emphatically teaches the universal priesthood and kingship of believers. The apostles themselves never claim or exercise a special priesthood. The sacrifice which all Christians are exhorted to offer is the sacrifice of their person and property to the Lord, and the spiritual sacrifice of thanksgiving and praise.² In one passage a Christian "altar" is spoken of, in distinction from the Jewish altar of literal and daily sacrifices, but this altar is the cross on which Christ offered himself once and forever for the sins of the world.³

After the gradual abatement of the extraordinary spiritual elevation of the apostolic age, which anticipated in its way the ideal condition of the church, the distinction of a regular class of teachers from the laity became more fixed and prominent. This appears first in Ignatius, who, in his high episcopalian spirit, considers the clergy the necessary medium of access for the people to God. "Whoever is within the sanctuary (or altar), is pure; but he who is outside of the sanctuary is not pure; that

¹ Comp. Eph. 4: 11-13.

² Rom. 12: 1; Phil. 2: 17; 1 Pet. 2: 5; Heb. 13: 16.

³ Heb. 13: 10. So *θυσιαστήριον* is understood by Thomas Aquinas, Bengel, Bleek, Lünemann, Riehm, etc. Others explain it of the Lord's table, Light-foot (p. 263) of the congregation assembled for common worship.

is, he who does anything without bishop and presbytery and deacon, is not pure in conscience."¹ Yet he nowhere represents the ministry as a sacerdotal office. Clement of Rome, in other respects very near the evangelical position of Paul, draws innocently a significant and fruitful parallel between the Christian presiding office and the Levitical priesthood, and uses the expression "layman" (*λαϊκος ἄνθρωπος*) as antithetic to high-priest, priests, and Levites.² This parallel contains the germ of the whole system of sacerdotalism. But it is at best only an argument by *analogy*. Tertullian was the first who expressly and directly asserts sacerdotal claims on behalf of the Christian ministry, and calls it "*sacerdotium*," although he also strongly affirms the universal priesthood of all believers. Cyprian (d. 258) goes still further, and applies all the privileges, duties, and responsibilities of the Aaronic priesthood to the officers of the Christian church, and constantly calls them *sacerdotes* and *sacerdotium*. He may therefore be called the proper father of the sacerdotal conception of the Christian ministry as a mediating agency between God and the people. During the third century it became customary to apply the term "priest" directly and

¹ *Ad Trall.* c. 7: ὁ ἐν τῷ θυσιαστηρίῳ ὢν καθαρὸς ἐστὶν ὁ δὲ ἐκτὸς θυσιαστηρίου ὢν οὐ καθαρὸς ἐστὶν· τούτέστιν, ὁ χωρὶς ἐπισκόπου καὶ πρεσβυτερίου καὶ διακόνου πρέσβυν τι, οὗτος οὐ καθαρὸς ἐστὶν τῇ συνειδήσει. I give the text as in Funk's ed. I. 208. Some MSS. omit the second clause, perhaps from homœoteleuton. Von Gebhart and Harnack also omit it in the Greek text, but retain it in the Latin (*qui extra altare est, non mundus est*). The *τούτέστιν* evidently requires the clause.

² *Ad Cbr.* 40: "Unto the high-priest his proper services have been intrusted, and to the priests their proper office is appointed, and upon the levites their proper ministrations are laid. The layman is bound by the layman's ordinances (ὁ λαϊκὸς ἄνθρωπος τοῖς λαϊκοῖς προστάγμασιν ὀδεῖται)." The passage occurs in the text of Bryennios as well as in the older editions, and there is no good reason to suspect it of being an interpolation in the hierarchical interest, as Neander and Milman have done. Bishop Lightfoot, in his *St. Clement of Rome*, p. 128 sq., puts a mild construction upon it, and says that the analogy does not extend to the *three* orders, because Clement only knows two (bishops and deacons), and that the high priesthood of Christ is wholly different in kind from the Mosaic high priesthood, and exempt from those very limitations on which Clement dwells in that chapter.

exclusively to the Christian ministers, especially the bishops.¹ In the same manner the whole ministry, and it alone, was called "clergy," with a double reference to its presidency and its peculiar relation to God.² It was distinguished by this name from the Christian people or "laity."³ Thus the term "clergy," which first signified the lot by which office was assigned (Acts 1: 17, 25), then the office itself, then the persons holding that office, was transferred from the Christians generally to the ministers exclusively.

Solemn "ordination" or consecration by the laying on of hands was the form of admission into the "ordo ecclesiasticus" or "sacerdotalis." In this order itself there were again three degrees, "ordines majores," as they were called: the diaconate, the presbyterate, and the episcopate—held to be of divine institution. Under these were the "ordines minores," of later date, from sub-deacon to ostiary, which formed the stepping-stone between the clergy proper and the people.⁴

¹ *Sacerdos*, also *summus sacerdos* (Tertullian, *De Bapt.* 7), and once *pontifex maximus* (*De Pudic.* 1, with ironical reference, it seems, to the Roman bishop); *ordo sacerdotalis* (*De Exhort. Cast.* 7); *ιερεὺς* and sometimes *ἀρχιερεὺς* (*Apost. Const.* II. 34, 35, 38, 57; III. 9; vi. 15, 18, etc.). Hippolytus calls his office an *ἀρχιερεῖς* and *διδασκαλία* (*Ref. Haer.* I. prooem.). Cyprian generally applies the term *sacerdos* to the bishop, and calls his colleagues *consacerdotes*.

² *Κλῆρος*, *clerus*, *τάξις*, *ordo*, *ordo sacerdotalis* (Tertull., *De Exhort. Cast.* 7), *ordo ecclesiasticus* or *ecclesiae* (*De Monog.* 11; *De Idolol.* 7); *κληρικὴν*, *clerici*. The first instance perhaps of the use of *clerus* in the sense of clergy is in Tertullian, *De Monog.* c. 12: "Unde enim *episcopi et clerus*?" and: "*Extollimur et inflamur adversus clerum*." Jerome (*Ad Nepotian.*) explains this exclusive application of *clerus* to ministers, "*vel quia de sorte sunt Domini, vel quia ipse Dominus sors, id est, pars clericorum est*." The distinction between the regular clergy, who were also monks, and the secular clergy or parish priests, is of much later date (seventh or eighth century).

³ *Λαός*, *laïkoî*, *plebs*. In Tertullian, Cyprian, and in the Apostolic Constitutions the term "layman" occurs very often. Cyprian speaks (250) of a "conference held with bishops, presbyters, deacons, confessors, and also with laymen who stood firm" (in persecution), *Ep.* 30, *ad Rom.*

⁴ Occasionally, however, we find a somewhat wider terminology. Tertullian mentions, *De Monog.* c. 12, the *ordo viduarum* among the *ordines ecclesiastici*, and even the much later Jerome (see *In Jesaiam.* l. v. c. 19, 18), enumerates *quinque ecclesiae ordines, episcopos, presbyteros, diaconos, fideles, catechumenos*.

Thus we find, so early as the third century, the foundations of a complete hierarchy; though a hierarchy of only moral power, and holding no sort of outward control over the conscience. The body of the laity consisted of two classes: the faithful, or the baptized and communicating members, and the catechumens, who were preparing for baptism. Those church members who lived together in one place,¹ formed a church in the narrower sense.²

With the exaltation of the clergy appeared the tendency to separate them from secular business, and even from social relations—from marriage, for example—and to represent them, even outwardly, as a caste independent of the people, and devoted exclusively to the service of the sanctuary. They drew their support from the church treasury, which was supplied by voluntary contributions and weekly collections on the Lord's Day. After the third century they were forbidden to engage in any secular business, or even to accept any trusteeship. Celibacy was not yet in this period enforced, but left optional. Tertullian, Gregory of Nyssa, and other distinguished church teachers, lived in wedlock, though theoretically preferring the unmarried state. Of an official clerical costume no certain trace appears before the fourth century; and if it came earlier into use, as may have been the case, after the example of the Jewish church, it must have been confined, during the times of persecution, to the actual exercises of worship.

With the growth of this distinction of clergy and laity, however, the idea of the universal priesthood continued from time to time to assert itself: in Irenæus,³ for example, and in an eccentric form in the Montanists, who even allowed women to teach publicly in the church. So Tertullian, with whom *clerus* and *laici* were at one time familiar expressions, inquires, as the champion of the Montanistic reaction against the Catholic hierarchy: "Are not we laymen priests also?"⁴ It is written,

¹ Πάροικοι, παρεπίδημοι, Eph. 2: 19; 1 Pet. 2: 11. ² or parish, παροικία.

³ Adv. Haer. iv. 8, § 3.

⁴ *Nonne et laici sacerdotes sumus?*

he continues: "He hath made us kings and priests (Rev. 1: 6). It is the authority of the church alone which has made a distinction between clergy and laity. Where there is no college of ministers, you administer the sacrament, you baptize, you are a priest for yourself alone. And where there are three of you, there is a church, though you be only laymen. For each one lives by his own faith, and there is no respect of persons with God."¹ All, therefore, which the clergy considered peculiar to them, he claimed for the laity as the common sacerdotal privilege of all Christians.

Even in the Catholic church an acknowledgment of the general priesthood showed itself in the custom of requiring the baptized to say the Lord's Prayer before the assembled congregation. With reference to this, Jerome says: "*Sacerdotium laici, id est, baptismus.*" The congregation also, at least in the West, retained for a long time the right of approval and rejection in the choice of its ministers, even of the bishop. Clement of Rome expressly requires the assent of the whole congregation for a valid election;² and Cyprian terms this an apostolic and almost universal regulation.³ According to his testimony it obtained also in Rome, and was observed in the case of his contemporary, Cornelius.⁴ Sometimes in the filling of a vacant bishopric the "suffragium" of the people preceded the "judicium" of the clergy of the diocese. Cyprian, and afterwards Athanasius, Ambrose, Augustin, and other eminent prelates, were in a manner pressed into the bishopric in this democratic way. Cyprian, with all his high-church proclivities, declares it his principle to do nothing as bishop without the advice of the presbyters and deacons, and the consent of the people.⁵ A pe-

¹ *De Exhort. Cast.* c. 7. Comp. also *De Monog.* 7, 12; *De Bapt.* 17; *De Orat.* 18.

² *Ad Cor.* 44: Συνοδικῶς τῆς ἐκκλησίας πάσης, consentiente universa ecclesia.

³ *Ep.* lx. 3-4 (ed. Goldhorn).

⁴ *Ep.* lv. 7: "Factus est Cornelius episcopus de Dei et Christi ejus judicio, de clericorum pœne omnium testimonio, de plebis quæ tum adfuit suffragio, et de sacerdotum antiquorum et bonorum virorum collegio."

⁵ *Sine consensu plebis.*

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culiar influence, which even the clergy could not withstand, attached to the "confessors," and it was sometimes abused by them, as in their advocacy of the lapsed, who denied Christ in the Decian persecution.

Finally, we notice cases where the function of teaching was actually exercised by laymen. The bishops of Jerusalem and Cæsarea allowed the learned Origen to expound the Bible to their congregations before his ordination, and appealed to the example of several bishops in the East.¹ Even in the Apostolical Constitutions there occurs, under the name of the Apostle Paul, the direction: "Though a man be a layman, if experienced in the delivery of instruction, and reverent in habit, he may teach; for the Scripture says: 'They shall be all taught of God.'"² The fourth general council at Carthage (398) prohibited laymen from teaching in the presence of clergymen and without their consent; implying at the same time, that with such permission the thing might be done.³

It is worthy of notice that a number of the most eminent church teachers of this period, Hermas, Justin Martyr, Athenagoras, Clement of Alexandria, Origen, Tertullian, Arnobius,

¹ Euseb., *H. E.* VI. 19: "There [in Cæsarea] he [Origen] was also requested by the bishops to expound the sacred Scriptures publicly in the church, although he had not yet obtained the priesthood by the imposition of hands." It is true this was made the ground of a charge against him by Demetrius, bishop of Alexandria; but the charge was that Origen had preached "in the presence of bishops," not that he had preached as a layman. And the bishops of Jerusalem and Cæsarea adduced several examples of holy bishops inviting capable laymen to preach to the people. Prudentius and Aedesius, while laymen, founded the church in Abyssinia, Socrates, *Hist. Eccl.* I. 19.

² *Const. Apost.* VIII. 31. Ambrosiaster, or Hilary the Deacon, in his *Com. Ad Eph.* 4: 11, 12, says that in early times "*omnes docebant et omnes baptizabant.*"

³ Can. 98: "*Laicus presentibus clericis, nisi ipsis jubentibus, docere non audeat.*" The 99th canon forbids women, no matter how "learned or holy," to "presume to teach men in a meeting." Pope Leo I. (*Ep.* 92 and 93) forbids lay preaching in the interest of ecclesiastical order. Charlemagne enacted a law that "a layman ought not to recite a lesson in church, nor to say the Hallelujah, but only the Psalm or responses without the Hallelujah."

and Lactantius, were either laymen, or at most only presbyters. Hermas, who wrote one of the most popular and authoritative books in the early church, was probably a layman; perhaps also the author of the homily which goes under the name of the Second Epistle of Clement of Rome, and has recently been discovered in full both in the original Greek and in a Syriac translation; for he seems to distinguish himself and his hearers from the presbyters.¹

§ 43. *New Church Officers.*

The expansion of the church, the development of her cultus, and the tendency towards hierarchical pomp, led to the multiplication of offices below the diaconate, which formed the *ordines minores*. About the middle of the third century the following new officers are mentioned:

1. SUB-DEACONS, or under-helpers;² assistants and deputies of the deacons; the only one of these subordinate offices for which a formal ordination was required. Opinions differ as to its value.

2. READERS,³ who read the Scriptures in the assembly and had charge of the church books.

3. ACOLYTHS,⁴ attendants of the bishops in their official duties and processions.

4. EXORCISTS,⁵ who, by prayer and the laying on of hands, cast out the evil spirit from the possessed,⁶ and from catechumens,

¹ The Greek text (of which only a fragment was known before) was found and published by Bryennios, 1875, the Syriac version by Bensley, 1876. See Harnack's ed. in the *Patres Apost.* vol. I., and Lightfoot, *S. Clement of Rome, Appendix* (1877). Harnack, Hilgenfeld, and Hatch (*l. c.* 114; note) suppose that the homily was delivered by a layman, but Lightfoot (p. 304) explains the language above alluded to as a common rhetorical figure by which the speaker places himself on a level with his audience.

² ὑποδιάκονοι, *subdiaconi*, perhaps the same as the ἑπηρέται of the New Testament and the earlier fathers.

³ ἀναγνώσται, *lectores*, mentioned by Tertullian.

⁴ ἀκόλυθοι, *acolythi*. ⁵ ἑξορκισταί, *exorcistae*. ⁶ δαιμονιζόμενοι, *ἐνεργούμενοι*.

and frequently assisted in baptism. This power had been formerly considered a free gift of the Holy Spirit.

5. PRECENTORS,¹ for the musical parts of the liturgy, psalms, benedictions, responses, etc.

6. JANITORS or sextons,² who took care of the religious meeting-rooms, and at a later period also of the church-yards.

7. Besides these there were in the larger churches CATECHISTS, and, where the church language in the worship was not understood, INTERPRETERS; but the interpreting was commonly done by presbyters, deacons, or readers.

The bishop Cornelius of Rome (d. 252), in a letter on the Novatian schism,³ gives the number of officers in his church as follows: Forty-six presbyters, probably corresponding to the number of the meeting-houses of the Christians in the city; seven deacons, after the model of the church at Jerusalem (Acts vi); seven sub-deacons; forty-two acolyths, and fifty-two exorcists, readers, and janitors.

As to the *ordines majores*, the deacons during this period rose in importance. In addition to their original duties of caring for the poor and sick, they baptized, distributed the sacramental cup, said the church prayers, not seldom preached, and were confidential advisers, sometimes even delegates and vicars of the bishops. This last is true especially of the "archdeacon," who does not appear, however, till the fourth century. The presbyters, on the contrary, though above the deacons, were now overtopped by the new office of bishop, in which the entire government of the church became centred.

§ 44. *Origin of the Episcopate.*

Besides the works already cited, compare the special works and essays on the *Ignatian* controversy, published since 1837, by ROTHE (close of his *Anfänge*, etc.), HEFELE (R. C.), BAUR, HILGENFELD, BUNSEN, PETERMANN, CURETON, LIPSIVS, UHLHORN, ZAHN, etc. Also ROSWELL D. HITCHCOCK on the *Origin and Growth*

¹ Ψάλται, *psalmistae, cantores.*

² Θυρωροί, *πωλωροί, ostiarii, janitores.*

³ In Euseb. vi. 43.

of Episcopacy, N. Y. 1867 (in the "Am. Presbyt. & Theol. Review" for Jan. 1867, pp. 133-169); LIGHTFOOT on the *Christian Ministry* (1873); HATCH on the *Organization of the Early Christian Church* (1881); and RENAN, *L'Eglise chrétienne* (1879), ch. VI. Progrès de l'épiscopat.

The most important and also the most difficult phenomenon of our period in the department of church organization is the rise and development of the episcopate as distinct from the presbyterate. This institution comes to view in the second century as the supreme spiritual office, and is retained to this day by all Roman and Greek Christendom, and by a large part of the Evangelical church, especially the Anglican communion. A form of government so ancient and so widely adopted, can be satisfactorily accounted for only on the supposition of a religious need, namely, the need of a tangible outward representation and centralization, to illustrate and embody to the people their relation to Christ and to God, and the visible unity of the church. It is therefore inseparable from the catholic principle of authority and mediation; while the protestant principle of freedom and direct intercourse of the believer with Christ, consistently carried out, infringes the strict episcopal constitution, and tends to ministerial equality. Episcopacy in the full sense of the term requires for its base the idea of a real priesthood and real sacrifice, and an essential distinction between clergy and laity. Divested of these associations, it resolves itself into a mere superintendency.¹

During the lifetime of the apostles, those eye- and ear-witnesses of the divine-human life of Jesus, and the inspired organs of the Holy Spirit, there was no room for proper bishops; and those who were so called, must have held only a

¹ Such is the Swedish and Danish Lutheran, the American Methodist, and the Moravian episcopate, which recognizes the validity of non-episcopal orders. The Anglican church harbors a high-church and a low-church theory of episcopacy, the one derived from the mediæval hierarchy, the other from the Reformation, but repudiates the primacy as an antichristian usurpation, although it must be confessed to be almost as old as episcopacy, its roots going back to Clement of Rome, or at all events to the age of Irenæus.

subordinate place. The church, too, in the first century was as yet a strictly supernatural organization, a stranger in this world, standing with one foot in eternity, and longing for the second coming of her heavenly bridegroom. But in the episcopal constitution the church provided an extremely simple but compact and freely expansible organization, planted foot firmly upon earth, became an institution for the education of her infant people, and, as chiliastic hopes receded, fell into the path of quiet historical development; yet unquestionably she thus incurred also the danger of a secularization which reached its height just when the hierarchy became complete in the Roman church, and which finally necessitated a reformation on the basis of apostolical Christianity. That this secularization began with the growing power of the bishops even before Constantine and the Byzantine court orthodoxy, we perceive, for instance, in the lax penitential discipline, the avarice, and the corruption with which Hippolytus, in the ninth book of his *Philosophumena*, reproaches Zephyrinus and Callistus, the Roman bishops of his time (202-223); also in the example of the bishop Paul of Samosata, who was deposed in 269 on almost incredible charges, not only against his doctrine, but still more against his moral character.¹ Origen complains that there are, especially in the larger cities, overseers of the people of God, who seek to outdo the pomp of heathen potentates, would surround themselves, like the emperors, with a body-guard, and make themselves terrible and inaccessible to the poor.²

We consider, first, the ORIGIN of the episcopate. The unreliable character of our documents and traditions from the transition period between the close of the apostolic church and the beginning of the post-apostolic, leaves large room here for critical research and combination. First of all comes the question: Was the episcopate directly or indirectly of apostolic

¹ Comp. Euseb. vii. 27-30.

² See the passages quoted by Gieseler, vol. I. 282 sq. (Harpers' ed. of New York.)

(Johannean) origin?¹ Or did it arise after the death of the apostles, and develop itself from the presidency of the congregational presbytery?² In other words, was the episcopate a continuation and contraction of, and substitute for, the apostolate, or was it an expansion and elevation of the presbyterate?³ The later view is more natural and better sustained by facts. Most of its advocates date the change from the time of Ignatius in the first quarter of the second century, while a few carry it further back to the close of the first, when St. John still lived in Ephesus.

I. For the APOSTOLIC origin of episcopacy the following points may be made:

(1) The position of James, who evidently stood at the head of the church at Jerusalem,⁴ and is called bishop, at least in the pseudo-Clementine literature, and in fact supreme bishop of the whole church.⁵ This instance, however, stands quite alone, and does not warrant an inference in regard to the entire church.

(2) The office of the assistants and delegates of the apostles, like Timothy, Titus, Silas, Epaphroditus, Luke, Mark, who had a sort of supervision of several churches and congregational officers, and in a measure represented the apostles in special missions. But, in any case, these were not limited, at least during the life of the apostles, each to a particular diocese; they were itinerant evangelists and legates of the apostles; only

¹ This is the Greek, the Roman Catholic, and the high Anglican theory. It is advocated by a very few Continental Protestants as Chevalier Bunsen, Rothe and Thierach (an Irvingite), who trace episcopacy to John in Ephesus.

² So the Lutheran, Presbyterian, and some eminent Episcopal writers. We mention Mosheim, Neander, Lightfoot, Stanley, Hatch. Also Baur and Renan, who judge as mere critics.

³ Bishop Lightfoot (l. c. p. 194) thus states the question with his own answer: "The episcopate was formed, not out of the apostolic order by localization, but out of the presbyterial by elevation; and the title, which originally was common to all, came at length to be appropriated to the chief among them."

⁴ Acts 15: 13; 21: 18. Comp. vol. I. 264 sqq.

⁵ Ἐπίσκοπος ἐπισκόπων.

the doubtful tradition of a later day assigns them distinct bishoprics. If bishops at all, they were missionary bishops.

(3) The angels of the seven churches of Asia,¹ who, if regarded as individuals, look very like the later bishops, and indicate a monarchical shaping of the church government in the days of John. But, apart from the various interpretations of the Apocalyptic *ἄγγελοι*, that office appears not co-ordinate with the apostolate of John, but subordinate to it, and was no more than a congregational superintendency.

(4) The testimony of Ignatius of Antioch, a disciple of John, in his seven (or three) epistles from the beginning of the second century (even according to the shorter Syriac version), presupposes the episcopate, in distinction from the presbyterate, as already existing, though as a new institution, yet in its growth.

(5) The statement of Clement of Alexandria,² that John instituted bishops after his return from Patmos; and the accounts of Irenæus,³ Tertullian,⁴ Eusebius,⁵ and Jerome,⁶ that the same apostle nominated and ordained Polycarp (with whom Irenæus was personally acquainted) bishop of Smyrna.

(6) The uncertain tradition in Eusebius, who derived it probably from Hegesippus, that the surviving apostles and disciples of the apostles, soon after the destruction of Jerusalem, elected Symeon, the son of Klopas and a cousin of Jesus, bishop of that city and successor of James. But this arrangement at best was merely local, and not general.⁷

(7) The tradition of the churches of Antioch and Rome,

¹ Rev. 1: 20. For the different views see vol. I. 497.

² *Quis dives saluus*, c. 42.

³ *Adv. Haer.* III. 3.

⁴ *De Praescr. Haer.* c. 32.

⁵ *H. E.* III. 36.

⁶ *Catal.* sub Poly.

⁷ *H. E.* III. 11. Comp. the fragment of Hegesippus, in IV. 22. Lightfoot (*Philippians*, p. 202) remarks against Rothe's inference: "The account of Hegesippus confines the object of this gathering to the appointment of a successor of St. James. If its deliberations had exerted that vast and permanent influence on the future of the church which Rothe's theory supposes, it is scarcely possible that this early historian should have been ignorant of the fact, or knowing it should have passed it over in silence."

which trace their line of bishops back to apostolic institution, and kept the record of an unbroken succession.

(8) A passage in the second of the Pfaff Fragments of Irenæus, which speaks of "second ordinances of the apostles" (*δεύτεραι τῶν ἀποστόλων διατάξεις*). Rothe understands by these the institution of the episcopate. But aside from the doubtful genuineness of the Fragments, these words are at all events of unsettled interpretation, and, according to the connection, relate not to the government of the church at all, but to the celebration of the eucharist.

(9) Equally uncertain is the conclusion drawn from an obscure passage in the Epistle of Clement of Rome to the Corinthians, which admits of different interpretations.¹ The apostles, it is said, foreseeing the future controversy about the name of the episcopal office, appointed bishops and deacons, and *afterwards* made the disposition,² that when *they* should

¹ *Ad Corinth.* c. 44: *Οἱ ἀπόστολοι ἡμῶν ἔγνωσαν διὰ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ὅτι ἔρις ἔσται ἐπὶ τοῦ ὀνόματος τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς. Διὰ ταύτην οὖν τὴν αἰτίαν πρόβλεψιν εἰληφότες τελείαν κατέστησαν τοὺς προετρημένους καὶ μετὰῦ ἐπινομήν [or ἐπιμονήν] ἔδωκαν, ὅπως, ἐὰν κοιμηθῶσιν, διαδέξωνται ἕτεροι δεδοκιμασμένοι ἄνδρες τὴν λειτουργίαν αὐτῶν.* "Our apostles knew through our Lord Jesus Christ that there would be strife over the name of the bishop's office [*i. e.*, the office of the ministry in general; comp. Acts 1: 20; Sept. Num. 4: 16; Ps. 109: 8; 2 Chr. 23: 18]. For this cause, therefore, having complete foreknowledge, they appointed the aforesaid persons [*i. e.*, presbyter-bishops and deacons; comp. c. 42 and 57], and afterwards they made the disposition [or provided a continuance, if we read with Lightfoot *ἐπιμονήν*], that if these should fall asleep, other approved men should succeed to their ministration."

² The reading is obscure and disputed. The Alexandrian MS. reads: *ἐπινομήν*, the Constantinopolitan: *ἐπιδομήν* (both have *ΕΠΙ-ΟΜΗΝ*). The former word is rare (from *νέμω*, or from *νόμος*), the latter is not found in the dictionaries; and hence various emendations have been proposed, as *ἀπονομήν* (Junius), *ἐπιδοχήν* (Bryennios), *ἐπιβολήν* (von Gebhardt and Harnack), *ἐπιμονήν* (Bunsen, Lightfoot), *ἐπιτροπήν* (Hilgenfeld), *ἐπιλογήν*, *ἐπινομίαν*, *ἐπιστολήν*, *ἐπιταγήν*, *ἔτι νόμον*. Rothe (*Anfänge*, p. 374) ingeniously translates *ἐπινομήν* "testamentary disposition" (*testamentarische Verfügung* = *ἐπινομία*, an after-enactment, a codicil), and identifies it with the *δεύτεραι διατάξεις* of the fragment of Irenæus. But this is rejected by the latest editors as untenable. Lightfoot (with Bunsen) reads *ἐπιμονήν*, permanence (not "life-tenure," as Bunsen rendered it). The drift of the passage, how-

fall asleep, other approved men should follow *them* in office. Rothe refers "they" and "them" to the apostles as the main subject. But these words naturally refer to the congregational officers just before mentioned, and in this case the "other approved men" are not successors of the apostles, but of the presbyter-bishops and deacons.¹ This view is sustained by the connection. The difficulty in the Corinthian congregation was a rebellion, not against a single bishop, but against a number of presbyter-bishops, and Clement reminds them that the apostles instituted this office not only for the first generation, but provided for a permanent succession, and that the officers were appointed for life, and could therefore not be deposed so long as they discharged their duties. Hence he goes on to say, immediately after the disputed passage in chapter 44: "Wherefore we think that those cannot justly be thrown out of their ministry who were appointed either by them (the apostles), or afterwards by other eminent men, with the consent of the whole congregation; and who have with all lowliness and innocency ministered to the flock of Christ, in peace, and without self-interest, and were for a long time commended by all."

(10) Finally, the philosophical consideration, that the universal and uncontested spread of the episcopate in the second century cannot be satisfactorily explained without the presumption of at least the indirect sanction of the apostles. By the same argument the observance of Sunday and infant baptism are usually traced to apostolic origin. But it is not quite con-

ever, does not so much depend upon the meaning of this word as upon the question whether the apostles, or the congregational officers are the grammatical subjects of the following verb, *καταμεθίστην*.

¹ See also Gebhardt and Harnack (*presbyteri et diaconi illi, quos apostoli ipsi constituerunt*), the Roman Catholic editor Funk ("*καταμεθίστην*, sc. *episcopi et diaconi de quorum successione Clemens agit*"), and Bishop Lightfoot ("the first generation of presbyters appointed by the apostles themselves"). Comp. also on this whole passage Lightfoot, *Philippians*, p. 203, where he refutes Rothe's interpretation; Baur *Ursprung des Episcopats*, p. 53; Ewald, *Gesch. des Volkes Israel*, VII. 300; Ritschl, *Altkath. K.* 358 and 413, and Hilgenfeld, *Apost. Väter*, 70.

clusive, since most of the apostles died before the destruction of Jerusalem. It could only apply to John, who was the living centre of the church in Asia Minor to the close of the first century.¹

II. The theory of the POST-APOSTOLIC origin of the episcopate as a *separate* office or order, and its rise out of the presidency of the original congregational presbyterate, by way of human, though natural and necessary, development, is supported by the following facts:

(1) The undeniable identity of presbyters and bishops in the New Testament,² conceded even by the best interpreters among the church fathers, by Jerome, Chrysostom, and Theodoret, and by the best scholars of recent times.

(2) Later, at the close of the first and even in the second century, the two terms are still used in like manner for the same office. The Roman bishop Clement, in his First Epistle to the Corinthians says, that the apostles, in the newly-founded churches, appointed the first fruits of the faith, i. e., the first converts, "bishops and deacons."³ He here omits the *πρεσβύτεροι*, as Paul does in Phil. 1: 1, for the simple reason that they are in his view identical with *ἐπίσκοποι*; while conversely, in c. 57, he enjoins subjection to presbyters, without mentioning bishops.⁴

¹ Hence Rothe traces the institution to John. And Bishop Lightfoot (*Philippians*, p. 204) is inclined to this view: "Asia Minor was the nurse, if not the mother of episcopacy in the Gentile churches. So important an institution, developed in a Christian community of which St. John was the living centre and guide, could hardly have grown up without his sanction: and early tradition very distinctly connects his name with the appointment of bishops in these parts."

² Acts 20: 17, 28; Phil. 1: 1; Tit. 1: 5; 1 Tim. 3: 1-7, 8-13; 1 Pet. 5: 1, 2. Comp. the author's *Hist. of the Apost. Ch.* §§ 132, 133, pp. 522-531 (N. York ed.); and vol. I. p. 492 sqq.

³ C. 42. Comp. the Commentary of Lightfoot. "It is impossible that he should have omitted the presbyters, more especially as his one object is to defend their authority, which had been assailed. The words *ἐπίσκοπος* and *πρεσβύτερος* therefore are synonyms in Clement, as they are in the apostolic writers. In Ignatius and Polycarp they first appear as distinct titles." Comp. also Lightfoot's *Com. on Philipp.* p. 93 sq. and 191 sq.

⁴ The *ἡγούμενοι*, c. 1, also, and the *προηγούμενοι*, c. 21, are not bishops of the

Clement of Alexandria distinguishes, it is true, the diaconate, the presbyterate, and the episcopate; but he supposes only a two-fold official character, that of presbyters, and that of deacons—a view which found advocates so late as the middle ages, even in pope Urban II., A. D. 1091. Lastly, Irenæus, towards the close of the second century, though himself a bishop, makes only a relative difference between *episcopi* and *presbyteri*; speaks of successions of the one in the same sense as of the other; terms the office of the latter *episcopatus*; and calls the bishops of Rome “presbyters.”¹ Sometimes, it is true, he appears to use the term “presbyters” in a more general sense, for the old men, the fathers.² But in any case his language shows that the distinction between the two offices was at that time still relative and indefinite.

(3) The express testimony of the learned Jerome, that the churches originally, before divisions arose through the instigation of Satan, were governed by the common council of the presbyters, and not till a later period was one of the presbyters placed at the head, to watch over the church and suppress schisms.³ He traces the difference of the office simply to “ecclesiastical” custom as distinct from divine institution.⁴

(4) The custom of the church of Alexandria, where, from the evangelist Mark down to the middle of the third century, the twelve presbyters elected one of their number president, and called him bishop. This fact rests on the authority of Je-

later sort, as may be inferred even from the plural number, but the congregational officers collectively, as in Heb. 13: 7; 17: 24.

¹ *Adv. Haer.* iii. 2, § 2; 3, § 2; iv. 26, § 2, § 4 and § 5. Comp. also the letter of Irenæus to the Roman bishop Victor in Euseb., v. 24.

² Comp. 2 Jno. 1. and 3 Jno. 1.

³ *Ad Titum* i. 7. Comp. *Epist.* 83 and 85.

⁴ *Ad Tit.* i. 7: *Sicut ergo presbyteri sciunt, se ex ecclesiae consuetudine ei, qui sibi prepositus fuerit, esse subjectos, ita episcopi noverint, se magis consuetudine quam dispositionis Dominicae veritate presbyteris esse majores et in commune debere ecclesiam regere.* The Roman deacon Hilary (Ambrosiaster) says, *ad 1 Tim.* 3: 10: “*Hic enim episcopus est, qui inter presbyteros primus est.*” Comp. also Chrysostom *Hom. xi. in Epist. 1 ad Tim.* 3: 8.

rome,¹ and is confirmed independently by the Annals of the Alexandrian patriarch, Eutychius, of the tenth century.² The latter states that Mark instituted in that city a patriarch (this is an anachronism) and twelve presbyters, who should fill the vacant patriarchate by electing and *ordaining* to that office one of their number and then electing a new presbyter, so as always to retain the number twelve. He relates, moreover, that down to the time of Demetrius, at the end of the second century, there was no bishop in Egypt besides the one at Alexandria; consequently there could have been no episcopal ordination except by going out of the province.

III. CONCLUSION. The only satisfactory conclusion from these various facts and traditions seems to be, that the episcopate proceeded, both in the descending and ascending scale, from the apostolate and the original presbyterate conjointly, as a contraction of the former and an expansion of the latter, without either express concert or general regulation of the apostles, neither of which, at least, can be historically proved. It arose, instinctively, as it were, in that obscure and critical transition period between the end of the first and the middle of the second century. It was not a sudden creation, much less the invention of a single mind. It grew, in part, out of the general demand for a continuation of, or substitute for, the

¹ *Epist. ad Evangelum* (Opp. iv. p. 802, ed. Martinay): *Alexandria a Marco evangelista usque ad Heraclum et Dionysium episcopos presbyteri semper unum ex se electum in excelsiori gradu collocatum episcopum nominabant, quomodo si exercitus imperatorem faciat, aut diaconi elegant de se, quem industrium noverint et archidiaconum vocent.*

² Ed. Oxon. 1658, p. 331: "*Constituit evangelista Marcus una cum Hakania patriarcha duodecim presbyteros, qui nempe cum patriarcha manerent, adeo ut eum vacaret patriarchatus, unum e duodecim presbyteris eligerent, cuius capiti reliqui undecim manus imponentes ipsi benedicerent et patriarcham crearent, deinde virum aliquem insignem eligerent, quem secum presbyterum constituerent, loco ejus, qui factus est patriarcha, ut ita semper exstarent duodecim. Neque desit Alexandriae institutum hoc de presbyteris, ut scilicet patriarchas crearent ex presbyteris duodecim, usque ad tempora Alexandri patriarchae Alexandriae. Is autem vetuit, ne deinceps patriarcham presbyteri crearent. Et decrevit, ut mortuo patriarcha convenient episcopi, qui patriarcham ordinaarent.*"

apostolic church government, and this, so far as it was transmissible at all, very naturally passed first to the most eminent disciples and fellow-laborers of the apostles, to Mark, Luke, Timothy, Clement, Ignatius, Polycarp, Papias, which accounts for the fact that tradition makes them all bishops in the prominent sense of the term. It was further occasioned by the need of a unity in the presbyterial government of congregations, which, in the nature of the case and according to the analogy of the Jewish ἀρχισυνάγωγος,¹ required a head or president. This president was called bishop, at first only by eminence, as *primus inter pares*; afterwards in the exclusive sense. In the smaller churches there was, perhaps, from the beginning, only one presbyter, who of himself formed this centre, like the *chorepiscopi* or country-bishops in the fourth century. The dioceses of the bishops in Asia Minor and North Africa, owing to their large number, in the second and third centuries, can hardly have exceeded the extent of respectable pastoral charges. James of Jerusalem, on the other hand, and his immediate successors, whose positions in many respects were altogether peculiar, seem to have been the only bishops in Palestine. Somewhat similar was the state of things in Egypt, where, down to Demetrius (A. D. 190-232), we find only the one bishop of Alexandria.

We cannot therefore assume any strict uniformity. But the whole church spirit of the age tended towards centralization; it everywhere felt a demand for compact, solid unity; and this inward bent, amidst the surrounding dangers of persecution and heresy, carried the church irresistibly towards the episcopate. In so critical and stormy a time, the principle, union is strength, division is weakness, prevailed over all. In fact, the existence of the church at that period may be said to have depended in a great measure on the preservation and promotion of unity, and that in an outward, tangible form, suited to the existing grade of culture. Such a unity was offered in the bishop, who held a

¹ Mark 5: 35, 36, 38; Luke 8: 41-49; Acts 18: 8-17.

monarchical, or more properly a patriarchal relation to the congregation. In the bishop was found the visible representative of Christ, the great Head of the whole church. In the bishop, therefore, all sentiments of piety found a centre. In the bishop the whole religious posture of the people towards God and towards Christ had its outward support and guide. And in proportion as every church pressed towards a single centre, this central personage must acquire a peculiar importance and subordinate the other presbyters to itself; though, at the same time, as the language of Clement and Irenæus, the state of things in Egypt, and even in North Africa, and the testimony of Jerome and other fathers, clearly prove, the remembrance of the original equality could not be entirely blotted out, but continued to show itself in various ways.

Besides this there was also a powerful practical reason for elevating the powers of the bishop. Every Christian congregation was a charitable society, regarding the care of the widow and orphan, the poor and the stranger as a sacred trust; and hence the great importance of the bishop as the administrative officer by whom the charitable funds were received and the alms disbursed. In Greek communities the title bishop (*ἐπίσκοπος*, *ἐπιμελετής*) was in wide use for financial officers. Their administrative functions brought them in close relation to the deacons, as their executive aids in the care of the poor and sick. The archdeacon became the right arm, the "eye" and "heart" of the bishop. In primitive times every case of poverty or suffering was separately brought to the notice of the bishop and personally relieved by a deacon. Afterwards institutions were founded for widows and orphans, poor and infirm, and generally placed under the superintendence of the bishop; but personal responsibility was diminished by this organized charity, and the deacons lost their original significance and became subordinate officers of public worship.¹

¹ The philanthropic and financial aspect of episcopacy has been brought out very fully by Hatch, in his *Bampton Lectures on The Organisation of the Early Christian Churches*, Lect. II.

Whatever may be thought, therefore, of the origin and the divine right of the episcopate, no impartial historian can deny its adaptation to the wants of the church at the time, and its historical necessity.

But, then, this primitive catholic episcopal system must by no means be confounded with the later hierarchy. The dioceses, excepting those of Jerusalem, Ephesus, Alexandria, Antioch, and Rome, must have long remained very small, if we look at the number of professing Christians. In the Apocalypse seven such centres of unity are mentioned within a comparatively small compass in Asia Minor, and at a time when the number of Christians was insignificant. In the year 258, Cyprian assembled a council of eighty-seven bishops of North Africa. The functions of the bishops were not yet strictly separated from those of the presbyters, and it was only by degrees that ordination, and, in the Western church, confirmation also, came to be intrusted exclusively to the bishops.

§ 45. *Development of the Episcopate. Ignatius.*

It is matter of fact that the episcopal form of government was universally established in the Eastern and Western church as early as the middle of the second century. Even the heretical sects, at least the Ebionites, as we must infer from the commendation of the episcopacy in the pseudo-Clementine literature, were organized on this plan, as well as the later schismatic parties of Novatians, Donatists, etc. But it is equally undeniable, that the episcopate reached its complete form only step by step. In the period before us we must note three stages in this development connected with the name of Ignatius in Syria (d. 107 or 115), Irenæus in Gaul (d. 202), and Cyprian in North Africa (d. 258).

The episcopate first appears, as distinct from the presbyterate, but as a congregational office only (in distinction from the diocesan idea), and as yet a young institution, greatly needing commendation, in the famous seven (or three) Epistles of Igna-

tius of Antioch, a disciple of the apostles, and the second bishop of that see (Evodius being the first, and Hero the third). He is also the first who uses the term "*catholic church*," as if episcopacy and catholicity sprung up simultaneously. The whole story of Ignatius is more legendary than real, and his writings are subject to grave suspicion of fraudulent interpolation. We have three different versions of the Ignatian Epistles, but only one of them can be genuine; either the smaller Greek version, or the lately discovered Syriac.¹ In the latter, which contains only three epistles, most of the passages on the episcopate are wanting, indeed; yet the leading features of the institution appear even here, and we can recognise *ex ungue leonem*.² In any case they reflect the public sentiment before the middle of the second century.

The substance of these epistles (with the exception of that to the Romans, in which, singularly enough, not a word is said about bishops³), consists of earnest exhortations to obey the

¹ The question of the genuineness will be discussed in the last chapter. Cureton (1845), Bunsen, Lipsius, and Lightfoot accept the Syriac version as the original form of the Ignatian epistles, and regard even the short Greek text as corrupt, but yet as dating from the middle of the second century. Rothe, Hefele, Schaff (first ed.), Düsterdieck, Uhlhorn, Zahn, Harnack, defend the genuineness of the shorter Greek recension. The larger Greek recension is universally given up as spurious. The origin of the hierarchical system is obscured by pious frauds.

² In the Syriac Ep. to *Polycarp*, the word *bishop* occurs four times; in the Syriac Ep. to the *Ephesians*, God is blessed for having given them such a bishop as Onesimus. In the shorter Greek Ep. to *Polycarp* episcopacy is mentioned in the salutation, and in three of the eight chapters (ch. 5 twice, ch. 6 twice, ch. 8 once). In the 21 chapters of the Greek Ep. to the *Ephesians*, the word *bishop* occurs thirteen times, *presbyter* three times, and *deacon* once (in the first six chapters, and ch. 21). In the Greek *Trallians*, the bishop appears nine times; in the *Magnesians*, eleven times; in the *Philadelphians*, eight times; in the *Smyrneans*, nine times. Thus in the three Syriac Epistles the bishop is mentioned but six times; in the seven shorter Greek Epistles about fifty times; but one of the strongest passages is found in the Syriac Epistle to *Polycarp* (ch. 5. and 6.).

³ Except that Ignatius speaks of himself as "the bishop of Syria," who "has found favor with God, being sent from the East to the West" (ch. 2). The verb *ἐπισκοπέω* is also used, but of Christ (ch. 9).

bishop and maintain the unity of the church against the Judaistic and docetic heresies. With the near prospect and the most ardent desire for martyrdom, the author has no more fervent wish than the perfect inward and outward unity of the faithful; and to this the episcopate seems to him indispensable. In his view Christ is the invisible supreme head, the one great universal bishop of all the churches scattered over the earth. The human bishop is the centre of unity for the single congregation, and stands in it as the vicar of Christ and even of God.¹ The people, therefore, should unconditionally obey him, and do nothing without his will. Blessed are they who are one with the bishop, as the church is with Christ, and Christ with the Father, so that all harmonizes in unity. Apostasy from the bishop is apostasy from Christ, who acts in and through the bishops as his organs.

We shall give passages from the shorter Greek text (as edited by Zahn):

"If any one is able to continue in purity (*ἐν ἀγνείᾳ*, i. e., in the state of celibacy), to the honor of the flesh of our Lord, let him continue so without boasting; if he boasts, he is lost (*ἀπώλετο*); if he become known more than the bishop,² he is corrupt (*ἐφθάρται*). It is becoming, therefore, to men and women who marry, that they marry by the counsel of the bishop, that the marriage may be in the Lord, and not in lust. Let every thing be done for the honor of God. Look to the bishop, that God also [may look] upon you. I will be in harmony with those who are subject to the bishop, and the presbyters, and the deacons; with them may I have a portion near God!" This passage is one of the strongest, and occurs in the Syriac Epistle to Polycarp as well as in the shorter Greek recension.³ It characteristically connects episcopacy with celibacy: the as-

¹ Ἐπίσκοπος εἰς τόπον θεοῦ προκαθήμενος, each bishop being thus a sort of pope.

² Zahn reads, *Ad Polyc.* cap. 5: *ἐὰν γνωσθῇ πλεον τοῦ ἐπισκόπου*, i. e. if he be better known or more esteemed than the bishop. The other reading is, *πλὴν*, beyond, or apart from.

³ *Ad Polyc.* cap. 5 and 6. The Greek text varies but little from the Syriac.

cetic system of Catholicism starts in celibacy, as the hierarchical organization of Catholicism takes its rise in episcopacy. "It becomes you to be in harmony with the mind (or sentence, γνώμη) of the bishop, as also ye do. For your most estimable presbytery, worthy of God, is fitted to the bishop as the strings are to the harp."¹ "It is evident that we should look upon the bishop as we do upon the Lord himself."² "I exhort you that ye study to do all things with a divine concord: the bishop presiding in the place of God (εἰς τόπον θεοῦ), and presbyters in the place of the college of the apostles, (εἰς τόπον συνεδρίου τῶν ἀποστόλων), and the deacons, most dear to me, being intrusted with the ministry (διακονίαν) of Jesus Christ, who was with the Father before all ages, and in the end appeared to us."³ "Be subject to the bishop, and to one another, as Christ [was subject] to the Father according to the flesh, and the apostles to Christ and to the Father and to the Spirit, in order that the union be carnal (σαρκική), as well as spiritual."⁴ "It is necessary, as is your habit, to do nothing without the bishop, and that ye should be subject also to the presbytery (τῷ πρεσβυτερίῳ), as to the apostles of Jesus Christ."⁵ "As many as are of God and of Jesus Christ, are also with their bishop."⁶ "Let all of you follow the bishop, as Jesus Christ [follows] the Father; and the presbytery as ye would the apostles; and reverence the deacons as the ordinance of God. Without the bishop let no one do anything connected with the church. Let that eucharist be accounted valid which is [offered] under the bishop or by one he has appointed. Wherever the bishop is found, there let the people be; as wherever Christ is, there is the catholic church.

¹ *Ad Ephes.* c. 4: Οὕτως συνήρμους τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ, ὡς χορδαὶ κιθάρα.

² *Ad Ephes.* c. 6: Τὸν οὖν ἐπίσκοπον δῆλον ὅτι ὡς αὐτὸν τὸν κύριον δεῖ προσβλέπειν.

³ *Ad Magnes.* c. 6.

⁴ *Ibid.* c. 13. The desire for "carnal" unity is significant.

⁵ *Ad Trallian.* c. 2: Ἀναγκαῖον ἔστιν, ὥσπερ ποιεῖτε, ἀνευ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου μὴδὲν πράσσειν ὑμᾶς, κ. τ. λ.

⁶ *Ad Philad.* c. 3.

Without the bishop it is not lawful either to baptize or to celebrate a love-feast."¹

This is the first time that the term "catholic" is applied to the church, and that episcopacy is made a condition of catholicity.

"He that honors the bishop, shall be honored by God; he that does anything without the knowledge of the bishop serves the devil."²

This is making salvation pretty much depend upon obedience to the bishop; just as Leo I., three centuries later, in the controversy with Hilary of Arles, made salvation depend upon obedience to the pope by declaring every rebel against the pope to be a servant of the devil! Such daring superabundance of episcopalianism clearly betrays some special design and raises the suspicion of forgery or large interpolations. But it may also be explained as a special pleading for a novelty which to the mind of the writer was essential to the very existence of the church.

The peculiarity in this Ignatian view is that the bishop appears in it as the head and centre of a *single congregation*, and not as equally the representative of the whole church; also, that (as in the pseudo-Clementine Homilies) he is the *vicar of Christ*, and not, as in the later view, merely the successor of the apostles,—the presbyters and deacons around him being represented as those successors; and finally, that there are no distinctions of order among the bishops, no trace of a primacy; all are fully *coördinate* vicars of Christ, who provides for himself in them, as it were, a sensible, perceptible omnipresence in the church. The Ignatian episcopacy, in short, is congregational, not diocesan; a new and growing institution, not a settled policy of apostolic origin.

¹ *Ad. Smyrn.* c. 8: "Οπου ἂν φανῇ ὁ ἐπίσκοπος, ἔκει τὸ πλῆθος ἔστω, ὥσπερ οὔπου ἂν ἦ Χριστὸς Ἰησοῦς, ἔκει ἡ καθολικὴ ἐκκλησία.

² *Ad Smyrn.* c. 9: "Ὁ τιμῶν ἐπίσκοπον ὑπὸ θεοῦ τετίμηται· ὁ λάθρα ἐπισκόπου τι πράσων τῷ διαβόλῳ λατρεύει.

§ 46. *Episcopacy at the time of Irenæus and Tertullian.*

In all these points the idea of the episcopate in Irenæus, the great opponent of Gnosticism (about 180), is either lower or higher. This father represents the institution as a diocesan office, and as the continuation of the apostolate, as the vehicle of the catholic tradition, and the support of doctrinal unity in opposition to heretical vagaries. He exalts the bishops of the original apostolic churches, above all the church of Rome, and speaks with great emphasis of an unbroken episcopal succession as a test of apostolic teaching and a bulwark against heresy.¹

At the same time the wavering terminology of Irenæus in the interchangeable use of the words "bishop" and "presbyter" reminds us of Clement of Rome, and shows that the distinction of the two orders was not yet fully fixed.²

¹ Comp. *Adv. Hær.* III. 3, § 1, 2; 4, 1; IV. 33, § 8. I remember what great stress the late Dr. Pusey, when I saw him at Oxford in 1844, laid on the testimony of Irenæus for the doctrine of an unbroken episcopal succession, as the indispensable mark of a genuine Catholic church; while he ignored the simultaneous growth of the primacy, which a year afterwards carried his friend, J. H. Newman, over to the church of Rome. The New Testament is the only safe guide and ultimate standard in all matters of faith and discipline. The teaching of Irenæus on episcopacy is well set forth by Lightfoot (*l. c.* p. 237): "Irenæus followed Ignatius after an interval of about two generations. With the altered circumstances of the Church, the aspect of the episcopal office has also undergone a change. The religious atmosphere is now charged with heretical speculations of all kinds. Amidst the competition of rival teachers, all eagerly bidding for support, the perplexed believer asks for some decisive test by which he may try the claims of disputants. To this question Irenæus supplies an answer. 'If you wish,' he argues, 'to ascertain the doctrine of the Apostles, apply to the Church of the Apostles.' In the succession of bishops tracing their descent from the primitive age and appointed by the Apostles themselves, you have a guarantee for the transmission of the pure faith, which no isolated, upstart, self-constituted teacher can furnish. There is the Church of Rome for instance, whose episcopal pedigree is perfect in all its links, and whose earliest bishops, Linus and Clement, associated with the Apostles themselves: there is the Church of Smyrna again, whose bishop Polycarp, the disciple of St. John, died only the other day. Thus the episcopate is regarded now not so much as the centre of ecclesiastical unity, but rather as the depositary of apostolic tradition."

² Comp. *Adv. Hær.* III. 293; IV. 26; V. 20; and his letter to Victor of Rome in Eusebius, *H. E.* V. 24.

The same view of the episcopal succession as the preserver of apostolic tradition and guardian of orthodox doctrine, we find also, though less frequently, in the earlier writings of Tertullian, with this difference that he uniformly and clearly distinguishes bishops and presbyters, and thus proves a more advanced state of the episcopal polity at his time (about 200).¹ But afterwards, in the chiliastic and democratic cause of Montanism, he broke with the episcopal hierarchy, and presented against it the anti-thesis that the church does not consist of bishops, and that the laity are also priests.²

§ 47. *Cyprianic Episcopacy.*

The old catholic episcopalianism reached its maturity in the middle of the third century in the teaching and example of Cyprian, bishop and martyr of the church in North Africa. He represents the claims of episcopacy in close connection with the idea of a special priesthood and sacrifice.³ He is the typical high-churchman of the ante-Nicene age. He vigorously put into practice what he honestly believed. He had a good opportunity to assert his authority in the controversy about the lapsed during the Decian persecution, in the schism of Felicissimus, and in the controversy on heretical baptism.

Cyprian considers the bishops as the bearers of the Holy Spirit, who passed from Christ to the apostles, from them by ordination to the bishops, propagates himself in an unbroken line of succession, and gives efficacy to all religious exercises. Hence they are also the pillars of the unity of the church; nay, in a certain sense they are the church itself. "The bishop,"

¹ *De Præscr. Hæc.* c. 32, 36.

² *Non ecclesia numerus episcoporum.* *De Pudic.* c. 21. Comp. § 42, p. 128.

³ "As Cyprian crowned the edifice of episcopal power, so also was he the first to put forward without relief or disguise the sacerdotal assumptions; and so uncompromising was the tone in which he asserted them, that nothing was left to his successors but to enforce his principles and reiterate his language." Lightfoot l. c. p. 257. "If with Ignatius the bishop is the centre of Christian unity, if with Irenæus he is the depository of apostolic tradition, with Cyprian he is the absolute *vicegerent* of Christ in things spiritual." *Ibid.* p. 238.

says he, "is in the church, and the church in the bishop, and if any one is not with the bishop he is not in the church."¹ And this is the same with him as to say, he is no Christian. Cyprian is thoroughly imbued with the idea of the solitary unity of the episcopate,—the many bishops exercising only one office in *solidum*, each within his diocese, and each at the same time representing in himself the whole office.²

But with all this, the bishop still appears in Cyprian in the closest connexion with the presbyters. He undertook no important matter without their advice. The fourth general council, at Carthage, A.D. 398, even declared the sentence of a bishop, without the concurrence of the lower clergy, void, and decreed that in the ordination of a presbyter, all the presbyters, with the bishop, should lay their hands on the candidate.³

The ordination of a bishop was performed by the neighboring bishops, requiring at least three in number. In Egypt, however, so long as there was but one bishop there, presbyters must have performed the consecration, which Eutychius⁴ and Hilary the Deacon⁵ expressly assert was the case.

§ 48. *The Pseudo-Clementine Episcopacy.*

Besides this orthodox or catholic formation of the episcopate, the kindred monarchical hierarchy of the Ebionitic sect deserves attention, as it meets us in the pseudo-Clementine Homilies. Chronologically this falls in the middle of the second century, between Ignatius and Irenæus, and forms a sort

¹ *Epist.* lxi. 3. *Comp. Ep.* lv. 20: *Christianus non est, qui in Christi ecclesia non est.*

² *De Unit. Eccl.* c. 5: *Episcopatus unus est, cujus a singulis in solidum pars tenetur.* *Comp. Ep.* lv. 20: *Quum sit a Christo una ecclesia per totum mundum in multa membra divisa, item episcopatus unus episcoporum multorum concordie numerositate diffusus.*

³ *Can.* 3: *Presbyter quum ordinatur, episcopo cum benedicente et manum super caput ejus tenente, etiam omnes presbyteri, qui praesentes sunt, manus suas juxta manum episcopi super caput illius teneant.*

⁴ *Eutychii Patriarchae Alexandr. Annal. interpr.* Pocockio (Oxon. 1658, I. p. 331). See the passage quoted, p. 141.

⁵ Or Ambrosiaster, *Ad Eph.* iv. 11.

of transition from the former to the latter; though it cannot exactly be said to have influenced the Catholic church. It is rather a heretical counterpart of the orthodox episcopate. The organization which consolidated the Catholic church answered the same purpose for a sect. The author of the pseudo-Clementina, like Ignatius, represents the bishop as the vicar of Christ,¹ and at the same time, according to the view of Irenæus, as the vicar and successor of the apostles;² but outstrips both in his high hierarchical expressions, such as *ἀδελφὰ ἄρμόνος τοῦ ἐπισκόπου*, and in his idea of the primacy, or of a universal church monarchy, which he finds, however, not as Irenæus suggests and Cyprian more distinctly states, in Peter and the Roman see, but, agreeably to his Judaistic turn, in James of Jerusalem, the "bishop of bishops."³

The Manichæans had likewise a hierarchical organization (as the Mormons in modern times).

Montanism, on the other hand, was a democratic reaction against the episcopal hierarchy in favor of the general priesthood, and the liberty of teaching and prophesying, but it was excommunicated and died out, till it reappeared under a different form in Quakerism.

§ 49. *Beginnings of the Metropolitan and Patriarchal Systems.*

Though the bishops were equal in their dignity and powers as successors of the apostles, they gradually fell into different ranks, according to the ecclesiastical and political importance of their several districts.

1. On the lowest level stood the bishops of the country churches, the *chorepiscopi* who, though not mentioned before the beginning of the fourth century, probably originated at an earlier period.⁴ They stood between the presbyters and the city

¹ *Hom.* iii. 60, 62, 66, 70. *Ep. Clem. ad Jac.* 17. *Comp. Recogn.* iii. 66.

² *Hom.* xi. 36; *Recogn.* iii. 66; vi. 15.

³ Ἐπίσκοπος ἐπισκόπων, *Hom.* xi. 35; *Recogn.* iv. 35.

⁴ The country bishops (*χωρεπίσκοποι*) appear first in the councils of Ancyra and Neo-Cæsarea, 314, and again in the Council of Niceæ. They continued to

bishops, and met the wants of episcopal supervision in the villages of large dioceses in Asia Minor and Syria, also in Gaul.

2. Among the city bishops the *metropolitans* rose above the rest, that is, the bishops of the capital cities of the provinces.¹ They presided in the provincial synods, and, as *primi inter pares*, ordained the bishops of the province. The metropolitan system appears, from the Council of Nicæa in 325, to have been already in operation at the time of Constantine and Eusebius, and was afterwards more fully carried out in the East. In North Africa the oldest bishop, hence called *senex*, stood as primas, at the head of his province; but the bishop of Carthage enjoyed the highest consideration, and could summon general councils.

3. Still older and more important is the distinction of *apostolic mother-churches*,² such as those at Jerusalem, Antioch, Alexandria, Ephesus, Corinth, and Rome. In the time of Irenæus and Tertullian they were held in the highest regard, as the chief bearers of the pure church tradition. Among these Antioch, Alexandria, and Rome were most prominent, because they were the capitals respectively of the three divisions (*eparchiæ*) of the Roman empire, and centres of trade and intercourse, combining with their apostolic origin the greatest political weight. To the bishop of Antioch fell all Syria as his metropolitan district; to the bishop of Alexandria, all Egypt; to the bishop of Rome, central and lower Italy, without definite boundaries.

4. Here we have the germs of the *eparchal* or *patriarchal* system, to which the Greek church to this day adheres. The name *patriarch* was at first, particularly in the East, an honorary title for all bishops, and was not till the fourth century exclusively

exist in the East till the 9th century, when they were superseded by the exarchs (*ἐξάρχαι*). In the West, the *chorepiscopi* performed regular episcopal functions, without proper subordination to the diocesans, and hence excited jealousy and hostility till the office was abolished under Charlemagne, and continued only as a title of various cathedral dignitaries. See Haddan in Smith & Cheetham, *Dict. Chr. Ant.* I. 354, and the authorities quoted there.

¹ Μητροπόλεις. Hence *μητροπολίται*.

² *Sedes apostolicæ, matrices ecclesiæ.*

appropriated to the bi-shops of the three ecclesiastical and political capitals of the Roman empire, Antioch, Alexandria and Rome, and also to the bishop of Jerusalem *honoris causa*, and the bishop of Constantinople or New Rome. So in the West the term *papa* afterwards appropriated by the Roman bishop, as *summus pontifex*, *vicarius Christi*, was current for a long time in a more general application.

§ 50. *Germs of the Papacy.*

Comp. the Lit. in vol. I. § 25 (p. 245).

BLONDEL: *Traité historique de la primauté en l'église.* Genève, 1641.

SALMASIUS: *De Primatu Papæ.* Lugd. Bat. 1645.

IS. BARROW: *The Pope's Supremacy.* Lond. 1680 (new ed. Oxf. 1836. N. York, 1845).

ROTHENSEE (R. C.): *Der Primat Des Papstes in allen christlichen Jahrhunderten*, 3 vols. Mainz, 1836-38 (I. 1-98).

KENRICK (R. C., archbishop of Baltimore, d. 1853): *The Primacy of the Apostolic See vindicated.* N. York, 4th ed. 1855.

R. I. WILBERFORCE (formerly archdeacon in the Anglican church; died in the Roman church, 1857): *An Inquiry into the Principles of Church Authority; or Reasons for Recalling my subscriptions to the Royal Supremacy.* Lond. 1854 (ch. vi.-x.).

J. E. RIDDLE: *The History of the Papacy to the Period of the Reformation.* Lond. 1856. 2 vols. (Chapter 1, p. 2-113; chiefly taken from Schröckh and Planck).

THOMAS GREENWOOD: *Cathedra Petri. A Political History of the great Latin Patriarchate.* Lond. 1856-1872. 6 vols. Vol. I. ch. I.-VI. (A work of independent and reliable learning.)

JOH. FRIEDRICH (Old Cath.): *Zur ältesten Geschichte des Primates in der Kirche.* Bonn, 1879.

E. RENAN: *Conferences d'Angleterre. Rome et le christianisme.* Paris 1880. The Hibbert Lectures delivered in Lond. 1880. English translation by Charles Beard, London (Williams & Norgate) 1880, another by Erskine Clement (Boston, 1880). Consists mostly of extracts from his books on the Origin of Christianity, skillfully put together.

H. FORMBY (R. C.): *Ancient Rome and its connection with the Christian Religion.* London 1880.

JOS. LANGEN (Old Cath.): *Geschichte der römischen Kirche bis zum Pontificate Leo's I.* Bonn, 1881.

On the chronology of the papacy see the next section; on the Greek character of the Roman church comp. LIGHTFOOT, *Com. on Philippians*, p. 19 sqq., and CASPARI, *Quellenforschungen*, etc. vol. I.

Among the great bishops of Antioch, Alexandria, and Rome, the Roman bishop combined all the conditions for a primacy, which, from a purely honorary distinction, gradually became the basis of a supremacy of jurisdiction. The same propension to monarchical unity, which created out of the episcopate a centre, first for each congregation, then for each diocese, pressed on towards a visible centre for the whole church. Primacy and episcopacy grew together. In the present period we already find the faint beginnings of the papacy, in both its good and its evil features; and with them, too, the first examples of earnest protest against the abuse of its power. In the Nicene age the bishop of Jerusalem was made an honorary patriarch in view of the antiquity of that church, though his diocese was limited; and from the middle of the fourth century the new patriarch of Constantinople or New Rome, arose to the primacy among the eastern patriarchs, and became a formidable rival of the bishop of old Rome.

The Roman church claims not only human but divine right for the papacy, and traces its institution directly to Christ, when he assigned to Peter an eminent position in the work of founding his church, against which even the gates of hades shall never prevail. This claim implies several assumptions, viz. (1) that Peter by our Lord's appointment had not simply a primacy of personal excellency, or of honor and dignity (which must be conceded to him), but also a supremacy of jurisdiction over the other apostles (which is contradicted by the fact that Peter himself never claimed it, and that Paul maintained a position of perfect independence, and even openly rebuked him at Antioch, Gal. 2: 11); (2) that the privileges of this primacy and supremacy are not personal only (as the peculiar gifts of Paul or John undoubtedly were), but official, hereditary and transferable; (3) that they were actually transferred by Peter, not upon the bishop of Jerusalem, or Antioch (where Peter certainly was), but upon the bishop of Rome; (4) that Peter was not only at Rome (which is very probable after 63, though not as certain as Paul's presence and martyrdom in Rome), but acted there

as bishop till his martyrdom, and appointed a successor (of which there is not the slightest historical evidence); and (5) that the bishops of Rome, as successors of Peter, have always enjoyed and exercised an universal jurisdiction over the Christian church (which is not the case as a matter of fact, and still less as a matter of conceded right).

Leaving a full discussion of most of these points to polemical theology, we are here concerned with the papacy as a growth of history, and have to examine the causes which have gradually raised it to its towering eminence among the governing institutions of the world.

The historical influences which favored the ascendancy of the Roman see were :

(1) The high antiquity of the Roman church, which had been honored even by Paul with the most important doctrinal epistle of the New Testament. It was properly the only apostolic mother-church in the West, and was thus looked upon from the first by the churches of Italy, Gaul, and Spain, with peculiar reverence.

(2) The labors, martyrdom, and burial at Rome of Peter and Paul, the two leading apostles. The whole Roman congregation passed through the fearful ordeal of martyrdom during the Neronian persecution, but must soon afterwards have been reorganized, with a halo of glory arising from the graves of the victims.

(3) The political pre-eminence of that metropolis of the world, which was destined to rule the European races with the sceptre of the cross, as she had formerly ruled them with the sword.

(4) The executive wisdom and the catholic orthodox instinct of the Roman church, which made themselves felt in this period in the three controversies on the time of Easter, the penitential discipline, and the validity of heretical baptism.

To these may be added, as secondary causes, her firmness under persecutions, and her benevolent care for suffering brethren, even in distant places, as celebrated by Dionysius of Corinth (180), and by Eusebius.

From the time of St. Paul's Epistle (58), when he bestowed high praise on the earlier Roman converts, to the episcopate of Victor at the close of the second century, and the unfavorable account by Hippolytus of Pope Zephyrinus and Pope Callistus, we have no express and direct information about the internal state of the Roman church. But incidentally it is more frequently mentioned than any other. Owing to its metropolitan position, it naturally grew in importance and influence with the spread of the Christian religion in the empire. Rome was the battle-field of orthodoxy and heresy, and a resort of all sects and parties. It attracted from every direction what was true and false in philosophy and religion. Ignatius rejoiced in the prospect of suffering for Christ in the centre of the world; Polycarp repaired hither to settle with Anicetus the paschal controversy; Justin Martyr presented there his defense of Christianity to the emperors, and laid down for it his life; Irenæus, Tertullian, and Cyprian conceded to that church a position of singular pre-eminence. Rome was equally sought as a commanding position by heretics and theosophic jugglers, as Simon Magus, Valentine, Marcion, Cerdo, and a host of others. No wonder, then, that the bishops of Rome at an early date were looked upon as metropolitan pastors, and spoke and acted accordingly with an air of authority which reached far beyond their immediate diocese.

Clement of Rome.

The first example of the exercise of a sort of papal authority is found towards the close of the first century in the letter of the Roman bishop Clement (d. 102) to the bereaved and distracted church of Corinth. This epistle, full of beautiful exhortations to harmony, love, and humility, was sent, as the very address shows,¹ not in the bishop's own name, which is not

¹ Ἡ ἐκκλησία τοῦ θεοῦ, ἡ παροικοῦσα Ῥώμην τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τοῦ θεοῦ, τῇ παροικοσῇ Κόρινθον. "The church of God which sojourns at Rome to the church of God which sojourns at Corinth." Παροικος is a temporary, κάτοικος a permanent, resident. The Christians appear here as strangers and pilgrims in this world, who have their home in heaven; comp. 1 Pet. 1: 17; 2: 11; Heb. 11: 13.

mentioned at all, but in that of the Roman congregation, which speaks always in the first person plural. It was a service of love, proffered by one church to another in time of need. Similar letters of instruction, warning and comfort were written to other congregations by Ignatius, Polycarp, Dionysius of Corinth, Irenæus. Nevertheless it can hardly be denied that the document reveals the sense of a certain superiority over all ordinary congregations. The Roman church here, without being asked (as far as appears), gives advice, with superior administrative wisdom, to an important church in the East, dispatches messengers to her, and exhorts her to order and unity in a tone of calm dignity and authority, as the organ of God and the Holy Spirit.¹ This is all the more surprising if St. John, as is probable, was then still living in Ephesus, which was nearer to Corinth than Rome. The hierarchical spirit arose from the domineering spirit of the Roman church, rather than the Roman bishop or the presbyters who were simply the organs of the people.² But a century later the bishop of Rome was substituted for the church of Rome, when Victor in his *own* name excommunicated the churches of Asia Minor for a trifling difference of ritual. From this hierarchical assumption there was only one step towards the papal absolutism of a Leo and Hildebrand, and this found its ultimate doctrinal climax in the Vatican dogma of papal infallibility.

Ignatius.

Ignatius, in his Epistle to the Romans (even in the Syriac recension), applies to that congregation a number of high-sounding titles, and describes her as "presiding in the place of the

¹ This is very evident towards the close from the newly discovered portions, chs. 59, 62 and 63 (edition of Bryennios, Const. 1875). These chapters shed new light on the origin of the papal domination. Comp. the judicious remarks of Lightfoot in his *Appendix to S. Clement of Rome* (Lond. 1877), p. 252 sqq.

² It is quite evident from the Epistle itself that at that time the Roman congregation was still governed by a college of presbyters (*collegialisch*, *nicht monarchisch*, as Langen, l. c. p. 81, expresses it).

region of the Romans," and as "taking the lead in charity."¹ This is meant as a commendation of her practical benevolence for which she was famous. Dionysius of Corinth in his letter to Soter of Rome, testifies to it as saying: "This practice has prevailed with you from the very beginning, to do good to all the brethren in every way, and to send contributions to many churches in every city."² The Roman church was no doubt more wealthy than any other, and the liberal use of her means must have greatly increased her influence. Beyond this, Ignatius cannot be quoted as a witness for papal claims. He says not a word of the primacy, nor does he even mention Clement or any other bishop of Rome. The church alone is addressed throughout. He still had a lively sense of the difference between a bishop and an apostle. "I do not *command* you," he writes to the Romans, "as if I were Peter or Paul; they were apostles."

Irenæus.

Irenæus calls Rome the greatest, the oldest(?) church, acknowledged by all, founded by the two most illustrious apostles, Peter and Paul, the church, with which, on account of her more important precedence, all Christendom must agree, or (according to another interpretation) to which (as the metropolis of the world) all other churches must resort.³ The "more important pre-

¹ Προκαθήμενη τῆς ἀγάπης, *præsidens in caritate*. Inscription. Zahn in his ed., p. 75, says: "*In caritatis operibus semper primum locum sibi vindicavit ecclesia Romana.*" Some Roman Catholic writers (as Möhler, *Patrol.* I. 144) explain the phrase very artificially and hierarchically: "head of the love-union of Christendom (*Vorsteherin des Liebesbundes*)."
Agape never means church, but either love, or love-feast. See Langen, *l. c.* p. 94.

² Euseb., *Hist. Eccl.* IV. 23, 10: ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὑμῖν ἐθος ἐστὶ τοῦτο, πάντας μὲν ἀδελφούς ποικίλως ἐνεργετεῖν, ἐκκλησίας τε πολλαῖς ταῖς ματὰ πᾶσαν πόλιν ἐφόδια πέμπειν.

³ The famous passage, *Adv. Hær.* iii. § 2, is only extant in Latin, and of disputed interpretation: "*Ad hanc enim ecclesiam propter potentiorē* (according to Massuet's conjecture: *potiorem*) *principalitatem necesse est omnem convenire ecclesiam, hoc est, eos qui sunt undique fideles, in qua semper ab his, qui sunt undique, conservata est ab apostolis traditio.*" In the original Greek it probably read: Πρὸς ταύτην γὰρ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν διὰ τὴν ἰκανωτέραν πρωτείαν συμβαίνειν (or, in the local sense, *συνέρχεσθαι*) *δεῖ* (according to others: *ἀνάγκη*, natural necessity) *πᾶσαν τὴν ἐκκλησίαν*, etc. The stress lies on *principalitas*, which stands

cedence" places her above the other apostolic churches, to which likewise a precedence is allowed.

This is surely to be understood, however, as a precedence only of honor, not of jurisdiction. For when Pope Victor, about the year 190, in hierarchical arrogance and intolerance, broke fellowship with the churches of Asia Minor, for no other reason but because they adhered to their tradition concerning the celebration of Easter, the same Irenæus, though agreeing with him on the disputed point itself, rebuked him very emphatically as a troubler of the peace of the church, and declared himself against a forced uniformity in such unessential matters. Nor did the Asiatic churches allow themselves to be intimidated by the dictation of Victor. They answered the Roman tradition with that of their own *sedes apostolicæ*. The difference continued until the council at Nicæa at last settled the controversy in favor of the Roman practice, but even long afterwards the old British churches differed from the Roman practice in the Easter observance to the time of Gregory I.

Hippolytus.

The celebrated Hippolytus, in the beginning of the third century, was a decided antagonist of the Roman bishops, Zephyrinus and Callistus, both for doctrinal and disciplinary reasons. Nevertheless we learn from his work called *Philosophumena*, that at that time the Roman bishop already claimed an absolute

probably for *πρωτεία* (so Thiersch and Gieseler). Comp. Iren. IV. 38, 3, where *πρωτεία* is rendered *principalitatem habet*. Stieren and Ziegler (*Irenæus*, 1871, p. 152), however, translate *propter potentiorum principalitatem*: *διὰ τὴν ἰκανωτέραν ἀρχαιότητα*, "on account of the higher antiquity." Comp. on the whole passage an essay by Thiersch in the "Studien und Kritiken" 1842, 512 sqq.; Gieseler I. 1. p. 214 (§ 51); Schneemann: *Sancti Irenæi de ecclesiæ Romanæ principatu testimonium commentatum et defensum*, Freiburg i. B. 1870, and Langen, l. c. p. 170 sqq. Langen (who is an Old Catholic of the Döllinger school) explains: "Die potior principalitas bezeichnet den Vorrang, welchen die Kirche der Hauptstadt als solche vor allen übrigen Kirchen besass . . . die Hauptstadt war das Centrum des damaligen Weltverkehrs, und in Folge dessen der Sammelplatz von Christen aller Art." He defends the local sense of *convenire* by parallel passages from Herveus of Bordeaux and Hugo Eterianus (p. 172 sq.). But the moral sense (to agree) seems more natural.

power within his own jurisdiction; and that Callistus, to the great grief of part of the presbytery, laid down the principle, that a bishop can never be deposed or compelled to resign by the presbytery, even though he have committed a mortal sin.

Tertullian.

Tertullian points the heretics to the apostolic mother churches, as the chief repositories of pure doctrine; and among these gives especial prominence to that of Rome, where Peter was crucified, Paul beheaded, and John immersed unhurt in boiling oil (?) and then banished to the island. Yet the same father became afterwards an opponent of Rome. He attacked its loose penitential discipline, and called the Roman bishop (probably Zephyrinus), in irony and mockery, "*pontifex maximus*" and "*episcopus episcoporum.*"

Cyprian.

Cyprian is clearest, both in his advocacy of the fundamental idea of the papacy, and in his protest against the mode of its application in a given case. Starting from the superiority of Peter, upon whom the Lord built his church, and to whom he intrusted the feeding of his sheep, in order to represent thereby the unity in the college of the apostles, Cyprian transferred the same superiority to the Bishop of Rome, as the successor of Peter, and accordingly called the Roman church the chair of Peter, and the fountain of priestly unity,¹ the root, also, and mother of the catholic church.² But on the other side, he asserts with equal energy the equality and relative independence of the bishops, as successors of the apostles, who had all an equally direct appointment from Christ. In his correspondence he uniformly addresses the Roman bishop as "brother" and "colleague," conscious of his own equal dignity and authority. And

¹ *Petri cathedram atque ecclesiam principalem, unde unitas sacerdotalis exorta est. Epist. lv. c. 19* (ed. Bal.) *Ad Cornelium episc. Rom.* In Goldhorn's ed., *Ep. lix. 19.*

² *Ecclesiae catholicae radicem et matricem.* *Ep. xl. 2* ed. Bal. (xlviii. ed. Goldh.). Other passages in Cyprian favorable to the Roman see are either interpolations or corruptions in the interest of the papacy.

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in the controversy about heretical baptism, he opposes Pope Stephen with almost Protestant independence, accusing him of error and abuse of his power, and calling a tradition without truth an old error. Of this protest he never retracted a word.

Firmilian.

Still more sharp and unsparing was the Cappadocian bishop, Firmilian, a disciple of Origen, on the bishop of Rome, while likewise implying a certain acknowledgment of his primacy. Firmilian charges him with folly, and with acting unworthily of his position; because, as the successor of Peter, he ought rather to further the unity of the church than to destroy it, and ought to abide on the rock foundation instead of laying a new one by recognising heretical baptism. Perhaps the bitterness of Firmilian was due partly to his friendship and veneration for Origen, who had been condemned by a council at Rome.

Nevertheless, on this question of baptism, also, as on those of Easter, and of penance, the Roman church came out victorious in the end.

Comparative Insignificance of the first Popes.

From these testimonies it is clear, that the growing influence of the Roman see was rooted in public opinion and in the need of unity in the ancient church. It is not to be explained at all by the talents and the ambition of the incumbents. On the contrary, the personality of the thirty popes of the first three centuries falls quite remarkably into the background; though they are all canonized saints, and, according to a later but extremely doubtful tradition, were also, with two exceptions, martyrs.¹ Among them, and it may be said down to Leo the Great, about the middle of the fifth century, there was hardly one, perhaps Clement, who

¹ Irenæus recognizes among the Roman bishops from Clement to Eleutherus (177), all of whom he mentions by name, only *one* martyr, to wit, Telesphorus, of whom he says: "Ὁς καὶ ἐν δόξῃς ἐμαρτύρησεν, *Adv. Haer.* III., c. 8, § 3. So Eusebius, *H. E.* V. 6. From this we may judge of the value of the Roman Catholic tradition on this point. It is so remote from the time in question as to be utterly unworthy of credit.

could compare, as a church leader, with an Ignatius, a Cyprian, and an Ambrose; or, as a theologian, with an Irenæus, a Tertullian, an Athanasius, and an Augustin.¹ Jerome, among his hundred and thirty-six church celebrities, of the first four centuries, brings in only four Roman bishops, Clement, Victor, Cornelius, and Damasus, and even these wrote only a few epistles. Hippolytus, in his *Philosophumena*, written about 225, even presents two contemporaneous popes, St. Zephyrinus (202–218) and Callistus (St. Calixtus I., 218–223), from his own observation, though not without partisan feeling, in a most unfavorable light; charging the first with ignorance and avarice,² the second with scandalous conduct (he is said to have been once a swindler and a fugitive slave rescued from suicide), and both of them with the Patripassian heresy. Such charges could not have been mere fabrications with so honorable an author as Hippolytus, even though he was a schismatic rival bishop to Callistus; they must have had at least some basis of fact.

§ 51. *Chronology of the Popes.*

I. SOURCES.

The principal sources for the obscure chronology of the early bishops of Rome are the catalogues of popes. These are divided into two classes, the oriental or Greek, and the occidental or Latin. To the first belong the lists of Hegesippus and Irenæus, from the second century, that of Eusebius (in his *Chronicle*, and his *Church History*), and his successors from the fourth century and later. This class is followed by Lipsius and Harnack. The second class embraces the catalogues of Augustin (*Ep.* 55, al. 165), Optatus of Mileve (*De schism. Donat.* II. 3), the "Catalogus Liberianus" (coming down to Liberius, 354), the "Catalogus Felicianus" (to 530), the

¹ Cardinal Newman says (*Apologia*, p. 407): "The see of Rome possessed no great mind in the whole period of persecution. Afterwards for a long time it had not a single doctor to show. The great luminary of the western world is St. Augustin; he, no infallible teacher, has formed the intellect of Europe." Dean Stanley remarks (*Christian Institutions*, p. 241): "There have been occupants of the sees of Constantinople, Alexandria, and Canterbury, who have produced more effect on the mind of Christendom by their utterances than any of the popes."

² He calls him in the ninth book of the *Philosophumena* an ἀνὴρ ἰδιώτης καὶ αἰσχροτέρας.

"Catalogus Cononianus," based perhaps on the "Catalogus Leoninus" (to 440), the "Liber Pontificalis" (formerly supposed to be based on the preceding catalogues, but according to the Abbé Duchesne and Waitz, older than the "Liber Felicianus"). The "Liber Pontif." itself exists in different MSS., and has undergone many changes. It is variously dated from the fifth or seventh century.

To these may be added the "Martyrologia" and "Calendaria" of the Roman Church, especially the "Martyrologium Hieronymianum," and the "Martyrologium Romanum parvum" (both of the seventh or eighth century).

The inscriptions on the papal tombs discovered in Rome since 1850, contain names and titles, but no dates.

On the "Catalogus Liberianus," see especially the critical essay of Mommsen "*Ueber den Chronographen des Jahres 354*," in the "Transactions of the Royal Saxon Society of Sciences," Philos. histor. Section, vol. I. (1850), p. 631 sqq. The text of the Catalogue is given, p. 634-'37, and by Lipsius, *Chronologie der röm. Bischöfe*, Append. p. 265-268. The oldest MSS. of the "Liber Pontificalis" date from the seventh and eighth centuries, and present a text of A. D. 641, but with many variations. "*Mit wahrer Sicherheit*," says Waitz, "*gelangen wir in der Geschichte des Papstthums nicht über das 7te Jahrhundert hinaus*."

II. WORKS.

- PHIL. JAFFÉ: *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum ab condita ecclesia ad ann.* 1198. Berolini 1851, ed. *secunda correctata et aucta auspiciis* GUL. WATTENBACH. Lips. 1881 sqq. Continued by POTTHAST from 1198-1304, and supplemented by HARTUNG (Bd. I. A. D. 748-1198, Gotha 1880).
- R. A. LIPSIIUS: *Chronologie der röm. Bischöfe bis zur Mitte des 4ten Jahrh.* Kiel, 1869. Comp. HORT's review of this book in the "Academy" for Sept. 15, 1871. LIPSIIUS: *Neue Studien zur Papstchronologie*, in the "Jahrbücher für Protest. Theol." Leipz. 1880 (pp. 78-126 and 233-307). Lipsius denies that Peter ever was at Rome.
- L. DUCHESNE (R. C.): *Étude sur le Liber Pontificalis*. Paris 1877. By the same: *La date et les recensions du Liber Pontificalis*. 1879.
- CARL ERBES: *Ueber Flavius Clemens von Rom. und das älteste Papstverzeichniss*. In the "Jahrbücher für Prot. Theol." 1878 and 1879.
- ADOLF HARNACK: *Die Zeit des Ignatius und die Chronologie der antiochenischen Bischöfe bis Tyrannus*. Leipz. 1878 (p. 73).
- G. WAITZ: *Ueber die verschiedenen Texte des Liber Pontificalis*, in the "Archiv der Gesellschaft für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde," IV; and his review of Duchesne, and Lipsius, in H. v. Sybel's "Histor. Zeitschrift" for 1880, p. 135 sqq.

The oldest links in the chain of Roman bishops are veiled in

impenetrable darkness. Tertullian and most of the Latins (and the pseudo-Clementine), make Clement (Phil. 4: 3), the first successor of Peter;¹ but Irenæus, Eusebius, and other Greeks, also Jerome and the Roman Catalogue, give him the third place, and put Linus (2 Tim. 4: 21), and Anacletus (or Anicletus), between him and Peter.² In some lists Cletus is substituted for Anacletus, in others the two are distinguished. Perhaps Linus and Anacletus acted during the life time of Paul and Peter as assistants, or presided only over one part of the church, while Clement may have had charge of another branch; for at that early day, the government of the congregation composed of Jewish and Gentile Christian elements was not so centralized as it afterwards became. Furthermore, the earliest fathers, with a true sense of the distinction between the apostolic and episcopal offices, do not reckon Peter among the bishops of Rome at all; and the Roman Catalogue in placing Peter in the line of bishops, is strangely regardless of Paul, whose independent labors in Rome are attested not only by tradition, but by the clear witness of his own epistles and the book of Acts.

Lipsius, after a laborious critical comparison of the different catalogues of popes, arrives at the conclusion that Linus, Anacletus, and Clement were Roman presbyters (or presbyter-bishops in the N. T. sense of the term), at the close of the first century, Evaristus and Alexander presbyters at the beginning of the second, Xystus I. (Latinized: Sixtus), presbyter for ten years

¹ Or at least the first appointed by Peter. Tertullian *De Præscr. Hæc.* c. 32 "*Romanorum Clementem a Petro ordinatum.*" The *Apost. Const.* VII. 6 make Linus (comp. 2 Tim. 4: 21) the first bishop, appointed by Paul, Clement the next, appointed by Peter. According to Epiphanius (*Hæc.* XXVII. 6) Clement was ordained by Peter, but did not enter upon his office till after the death of Linus and Anacletus.

² The catalogue of Irenæus (*Adv. Hæc.* III. 3, 3) down to his own time (A. D. 177) is this: The *apostles* Peter and Paul, Linos, Anacleto, Clement, Evaristus, Alexander, Xystos, Telesphoros, who died gloriously as a martyr, Hyginos, Pios, Aniketos, Soter, Eleutheros, who then held "the inheritance of the episcopate in the twelfth place from the apostles." Irenæus adds: "In this order, and by this succession, the ecclesiastical tradition from the apostles and the preaching of the truth have come down to us."

till about 128, Telesphorus for eleven years, till about 139, and his next successors diocesan bishops.¹

It must in justice be admitted, however, that the list of Roman bishops has by far the preëminence in age, completeness, integrity of succession, consistency of doctrine and policy, above every similar catalogue, not excepting those of Jerusalem, Antioch, Alexandria, and Constantinople; and this must carry great weight with those who ground their views chiefly on external testimonies, without being able to rise to the free Protestant conception of Christianity and its history of development on earth.

§ 51. *List of the Roman Bishops and Roman Emperors during the First Three Centuries.*

From the lists of Eusebius (till Silvester), Jaffé (*Regesta*), Potthast (*Bibliotheca Hist. Medii Aevi*), Lipsius and others compared. See a continuation of the list in my *History of Medieval Christianity*, p. 205 sqq.

A. D.	POPES.	EMPERORS.	B. C.
		Augustus,	27
		Tiberius,	A.D. 14-37
		Caligula,	37-41
		Claudius,	41-54
?	42-67 Petrus-Apostolus. ²	Nero,	54-68
	(63-64)		
?	67-79 Linus-Presbyter.	Galba, }	68
		Otho, }	
		Vitellius, }	68-69
		Vespasian,	70-79
?	79-91 Cletus or Anacletus.	Titus,	79-81
		Domitian,	81-96
?	91-100 Clemens I.	Nerva,	96-98
		Trajan,	98-117
?	100-109 Evaristus.		
?	109-119 Alexander I.	Hadrian,	117-138
?	119-128 Xystus or Sixtus I.		
?	128-139 Telesphorus (Martyr).	Antoninus Pius,	138-161

¹ Langen (*l. c.* p. 100 sqq.) carries the line of Roman presbyter-bishops down to Alexander, and dates the monarchical constitution of the Roman church (i. e. the diocesan episcopacy) from the age of Trajan or Hadrian. Irenæus (in Euseb. V. 27) calls the Roman bishops down to Anicetus (154) *πρεσβύτεροι*.

² The best historians agree that Peter cannot have been in Rome before A. D. 63, and that the Roman tradition of a twenty-five years' episcopate is a fable.

§ 52. LIST OF ROMAN BISHOPS AND EMPERORS. 167

A. D.	POPES.	EMPERORS.	B. C.
? 139-142	Hyginus.		
? 142-154	Pius I.		
? 154-168	Anicetus.	Marcus Aurelius,	161-180
? 168-176	Soter.		
? 177-190	Eleutherus.	Commodus,	180-190
? 190-202	Victor I.	Pertinax,	190-191
		Didius Julianus,	191-192
		Niger,	192-193
		Septimius Severus,	193-211
202-218	Zephyrinus.	Caracalla, }	211-217
		Geta (d. 212), }	
218-223	Callistus, or Calixtus I. (Hippolytus, Antipope).	M. Opilius Macrinus,	217-218
		Heliogabalus,	218-222
? 223-230	Urbanus I.	Alexander Severus,	222-235
? 230-235	Pontianus (resigned in exile).		
235-236	Anterus.	Maximin I. (the Thracian),	235-237
236-250	Fabianus, Martyr.	The two Gordians, }	
		Maximus Pupienus, }	237-238
		Balbinus, }	
		Gordian the Younger,	238-244
		Philip,	244-249
250-251	The See vacant till March 251.	Decius,	249-251
? 251-252	Cornelius (in exile).	Gallus.	251-252
? 251	(Novatianus, Antipope).		
252-253	Lucius I.	Volusian,	252-253
? 253-257	Stephanus I.	Æmilian,	253-268
		Valerian,	256-259
		Gallienus.	259-268
? 257-258	Xystus (Sixtus) II.		
Till July 21. 259.	} The See vacant.		
259-269	Dionysius.	Claudius II.	268-270
269-274	Felix I.	Aurelian,	270-275
275-283	Eutychianus.	Tacitus,	275-276
		Probus,	276-282
283-296	Gajus (Caius).	Carus,	282-284
		Carinus, }	
		Numerian, }	284-286
		Diocletian (d. 313),	284-305
		Maximian, joint Emp. with Diocletian, }	286-305
296-304	Marcellinus.	Constantius (d. 306), }	
304-307	The See vacant.	Galerius (d. 311), }	304 or 307
		Licinius (d. 323), }	
		Maximin II. (Daza),	308-309
		Constantine the Great,	
308-309	Marcellus,	Galerius (d. 311), }	
? 309-310	Eusebius, d. Sept. 26 (?) 309.	Licinius (d. 323), }	309-323
		Maximin (d. 313), }	
		Maxentius (d. 312), reigning jointly.	
309-310	The See vacant.		
311-314	Miltiades (Melchiades).		
314-335	Silvester I.	Constantine the Great,	323-337

The whole number of popes, from the Apostle Peter to Leo XIII. (1878) is two hundred and sixty-three. This would allow about seven years on an average to each papal reign. The traditional twenty-five years of Peter were considered the maximum which none of his successors was permitted to reach, except Pius IX., the first infallible pope, who reigned twenty-seven years (1846-1878). The average term of office of the archbishops of Canterbury is fourteen years.

§ 53. *The Catholic Unity.*

J. A. MÖHLER (R. C.): *Die Einheit der Kirche oder das Princip des Katholicismus*. Tübingen 1825. Full of Catholic enthusiasm for the unity of the church.

R. ROTHE: *Die Anfänge der christl. Kirche*. Wittenb. 1837 (pp. 553-711). A Protestant counterpart of Möhler's book.

HUTHER: *Cyprian's Lehre von der Einheit der Kirche*. Hamb. 1839.

J. W. NEVIN: *Cyprian*; four articles in the "Mercersburg Review," 1852. Comp. VARIEN's strictures on these articles in the same "Review" for 1853, p. 555 sqq.

JOH. PETERS (Ultramontane): *Die Lehre des heil. Cyprian von der Einheit der Kirche gegenüber den beiden Schismen in Carthago und Rom*. Luxemb. 1870.

JOS. H. REINKENS (Old Cath. Bishop): *Die Lehre des heil. Cyprian von der Einheit der Kirche*. Würzburg, 1873.

Comp. also HARTEL's ed. of Cyprian's *Opera* (3 Parts, Vienna, 1868-'71), and the monographs on Cyprian by RETTBERG (1831), PETERS (1877), FECHTRUP (1878).

On the basis of Paul's idea of the unity, holiness, and universality of the church, as the mystical body of Christ; hand in hand with the episcopal system of government; in the form of fact rather than of dogma; and in perpetual conflict with heathen persecution from without, and heretical and schismatic tendencies within—arose the idea and the institution of "*the Holy Catholic Church*," as the Apostles' Creed has it;¹ or, in

¹ The Church of England retained the term "catholic" in the Creed, and the ante-papal and anti-papal use of this term (= general, universal); while Luther in his Catechism, and the Moravian church (in her liturgy) substituted the word "Christian," and surrendered the use of "catholic" to the Roman Catholics. "Roman" is a sectarian term (in opposition to Greek Catholic, and Evangelical Catholic).

the fuller language of the Nicene-Constantinopolitan, "the *One Holy Catholic Apostolic Church*." In both the œcumenical symbols, as even in the more indefinite creeds of the second and third centuries, on which those symbols are based, the church appears as an article of faith,¹ presupposing and necessarily following faith in the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit; and as a holy fellowship,² within which the various benefits of grace, from the forgiveness of sins to the life everlasting, are enjoyed.

Nor is any distinction made here between a visible and an invisible church. All catholic antiquity thought of none but the actual, historical church, and without hesitation applied to this, while yet in the eyes of the world a small persecuted sect, those four predicates of unity, holiness, universality, and apostolicity, to which were afterwards added exclusiveness, infallibility and indestructibility. There sometimes occur, indeed, particularly in the Novatian schism, hints of the incongruity between the empirical reality and the ideal conception of the church; and this incongruity became still more palpable, in regard to the predicate of holiness, after the abatement of the spiritual elevation of the apostolic age, the cessation of persecution, and the decay of discipline. But the unworthiness of individual members and the external servant-form of the church were not allowed to mislead as to the general objective character, which belonged to her in virtue of her union with her glorious heavenly Head.

The fathers of our period all saw in the church, though with different degrees of clearness, a divine, supernatural order of things, in a certain sense the continuation of the life of Christ on earth, the temple of the Holy Spirit, the sole repository of the powers of divine life, the possessor and interpreter of the Holy Scriptures, the mother of all the faithful. She is holy

¹ *Credo ecclesiam*; yet not in (*εἰς*) *ecclesiam*, as in the case of the Divine persons.

² *Communio sanctorum*. This clause, however, is not found in the original Creed of the Roman church before the fifth century.

because she is separated from the service of the profane world, is animated by the Holy Spirit, forms her members to holiness, and exercises strict discipline. She is catholic, that is (according to the precise sense of *ὅλος*, which denotes not so much numerical totality as wholeness), complete, and alone true, in distinction from all parties and sects. Catholicity, strictly taken, includes the three marks of universality, unity, and exclusiveness, and is an essential property of the church as the body and organ of Christ, who is, in fact, the only Redeemer for all men. Equally inseparable from her is the predicate of apostolicity, that is, the historical continuity or unbroken succession, which reaches back through the bishops to the apostles, from the apostles to Christ, and from Christ to God. In the view of the fathers, every theoretical departure from this empirical, tangible, catholic church is heresy, that is, arbitrary, subjective, ever changing human opinion; every practical departure, all disobedience to her rulers is schism, or dismemberment of the body of Christ; either is rebellion against divine authority, and a heinous, if not the most heinous, sin. No heresy can reach the conception of the church, or rightly claim any one of her predicates; it forms at best a sect or party, and consequently falls within the province and the fate of human and perishing things, while the church is divine and indestructible.

This is without doubt the view of the ante-Nicene fathers, even of the speculative and spiritualistic Alexandrians. The most important personages in the development of the doctrine concerning the church are, again, Ignatius, Irenæus, and Cyprian. Their whole doctrine of the episcopate is intimately connected with their doctrine of the catholic unity, and determined by it. For the episcopate is of value in their eyes only as the indispensable means of maintaining and promoting this unity: while they are compelled to regard the bishops of heretics and schismatics as rebels and antichrists.

1. In the Epistles of IGNATIUS the unity of the church, in the form and through the medium of the episcopate, is the fundamental thought and the leading topic of exhortation. The

author calls himself a man prepared for union.¹ He also is the first to use the term "catholic" in the ecclesiastical sense, when he says :² "Where Christ Jesus is, there is the catholic church ;" that is, the closely united and full totality of his people. Only in her, according to his view, can we eat the bread of God ; he, who follows a schismatic, inherits not the kingdom of God.³

We meet similar views, although not so clearly and strongly stated, in the Roman Clement's First Epistle to the Corinthians, in the letter of the church of Smyrna on the martyrdom of Polycarp, and in the Shepherd of Hermas.

2. IRENÆUS speaks much more at large respecting the church. He calls her the haven of rescue, the way of salvation, the entrance to life, the paradise in this world, of whose trees, to wit, the holy Scriptures, we may eat, excepting the tree of knowledge of good and evil, which he takes as a type of heresy. The church is inseparable from the Holy Spirit ; it is his home, and indeed his only dwelling-place on earth. "Where the church is," says he, putting the church first, in the genuine catholic spirit, "there is the Spirit of God, and where the Spirit of God is there is all grace."⁴ Only on the bosom of the church, continues he, can we be nursed to life. To her must we flee, to be made partakers of the Holy Spirit ; separation from her is separation from the fellowship of the Holy Spirit. Heretics, in his view, are enemies of the truth and sons of Satan, and will be swallowed up by hell, like the company of Korah, Dathan, and Abiram. Characteristic in this respect is the well-known legend, which he relates, about the meeting of the apostle John with the Gnostic Cerinthus, and of Polycarp with Marcion, the "first-born of Satan."

3. TERTULLIAN is the first to make that comparison of the church with Noah's ark, which has since become classical in

¹ ἄνθρωπον εἰς ἐνωσιν κατηχημένον.

² *Ad Smyrn.* c. 8.

³ *Ad Ephes.* c. 5. *Ad Trall.* c. 7. *Ad Philad.* c. 3, etc.

⁴ *Adv. Hær.* iii. 24. "*Ubi ecclesia ibi et Spiritus Dei, et ubi Spiritus Dei, illic ecclesia et omnis gratia.*" Protestantism would say, conversely, putting the Spirit first : "*Ubi Spiritus Dei, ibi ecclesia et omnis gratia.*"

Roman catholic theology; and he likewise attributes heresies to the devil, without any qualification. But as to schism, he was himself guilty of it since he joined the Montanists and bitterly opposed the Catholics in questions of discipline. He has therefore no place in the Roman Catholic list of the *patres*, but simply of the *scriptores ecclesiae*.

4. Even CLEMENT of Alexandria, and ORIGEN, with all their spiritualistic and idealizing turn of mind, are no exception here. The latter, in the words: "Out of the church no man can be saved,"¹ brings out the principle of the catholic exclusiveness as unequivocally as Cyprian. Yet we find in him, together with very severe judgments of heretics, mild and tolerant expressions also; and he even supposes, on the ground of Rom. 2: 6 sqq., that in the future life honest Jews and heathens will attain a suitable reward, a low grade of blessedness, though not the "life everlasting" in the proper sense. In a later age he was himself condemned as a heretic.

Of other Greek divines of the third century, Methodius in particular, an opponent of Origen, takes high views of the church, and in his *Symposion* poetically describes it as "the garden of God in the beauty of eternal spring, shining in the richest splendor of immortalizing fruits and flowers;" as the virginal, unspotted, ever young and beautiful royal bride of the divine Logos.

5. Finally, CYPRIAN, in his Epistles, and most of all in his classical tract: *De Unitate Ecclesiae*, written in the year 251, amidst the distractions of the Novatian schism, and not without an intermixture of hierarchical pride and party spirit, has most distinctly and most forcibly developed the old catholic doctrine of the church, her unity, universality, and exclusiveness. He is the typical champion of visible, tangible church unity, and would have made a better pope than any pope before Leo I.; yet after all he was anti-papal and anti-Roman when he differed from the pope. Augustin felt this inconsistency, and thought

¹ Hom. 3 in Josuam, c. 5. "*Extra hanc domum, id est extra ecclesiam, nemo salvatur.*"

that he had wiped it out by the blood of his martyrdom. But he never gave any sign of repentance. His views are briefly as follows :

The Catholic church was founded from the first by Christ on St. Peter alone, that, with all the equality of power among the apostles, unity might still be kept prominent as essential to her being. She has ever since remained one, in unbroken episcopal succession ; as there is only one sun, though his rays are everywhere diffused. Try once to separate the ray from the sun ; the unity of the light allows no division. Break the branch from the tree ; it can produce no fruit. Cut off the brook from the fountain ; it dries up. Out of this empirical orthodox church, episcopally organized and centralized in Rome, Cyprian can imagine no Christianity at all ;¹ not only among the Gnostics and other radical heretics, but even among the Novatians, who varied from the Catholics in no essential point of doctrine, and only elected an opposition bishop in the interest of their rigorous penitential discipline. Whoever separates himself from the catholic church is a foreigner, a profane person, an enemy, condemns himself, and must be shunned. No one can have God for his father, who has not the church for his mother.² As well might one out of the ark of Noah have escaped the flood, as one out of the church be saved ;³ because she alone is the bearer of the Holy Spirit and of all grace.

In the controversy on heretical baptism, Cyprian carried out the principle of exclusiveness even more consistently than the Roman church. For he entirely rejected such baptism, while Stephen held it valid, and thus had to concede, in strict consistency, the possibility of regeneration, and hence of salvation, outside the Catholic church. Here is a point where even the Roman system, generally so consistent, has a loophole of liberality, and practically gives up her theoretical principle of

¹ "*Christianus non est, qui in Christi ecclesia non est.*"

² "*Habere non potest Deum patrem, qui ecclesiam non habet matrem.*"

³ "*Extra ecclesiam nulla salus.*" Yet he nowhere says "*extra ecclesiam Romanam nulla salus.*"

exclusiveness. But in carrying out this principle, even in persistent opposition to the pope, in whom he saw the successor of Peter and the visible centre of unity, Cyprian plainly denied the supremacy of Roman jurisdiction and the existence of an infallible tribunal for the settlement of doctrinal controversies, and protested against identifying the church in general with the church of Rome. And if he had the right of such protest in favor of strict exclusiveness, should not the Greek church, and above all the Evangelical, much rather have the right of protest against the Roman exclusiveness, and in favor of a more free and comprehensive conception of the church?

We may freely acknowledge the profound and beautiful truth at the bottom of this old catholic doctrine of the church, and the historical importance of it for that period of persecution, as well as for the great missionary work among the barbarians of the middle ages; but we cannot ignore the fact that the doctrine rested in part on a fallacy, which, in course of time, after the union of the church with the state, or, in other words, with the world, became more and more glaring, and provoked an internal protest of ever-growing force. It blindly identified the spiritual unity of the church with unity of organization, insisted on outward uniformity at the expense of free development, and confounded the faulty empirical church, or a temporary phase of the development of Christianity, with the ideal and eternal kingdom of Christ, which will not be perfect in its manifestation until the glorious second coming of its Head. The Scriptural principle: "Out of *Christ* there is no salvation," was contracted and restricted to the Cyprianic principle: "Out of the (visible) *church* there is no salvation;" and from this there was only one step to the fundamental error of Romanism: "Out of the *Roman Church* there is no salvation."

No effort after outward unity could prevent the distinction of an Oriental and Occidental church from showing itself at this early period, in language, customs, and theology;—a distinction which afterwards led to a schism to this day unhealed.

It may well be questioned whether our Lord intended an

outward visible unity of the church in the present order of things. He promised that there should be "one flock, one shepherd," but not "one fold."¹ There may be one flock, and yet many folds or church organizations. In the sacerdotal prayer, our Lord says not one word about church, bishops or popes, but dwells upon that spiritual unity which reflects the harmony between the eternal Father and the eternal Son. "The true communion of Christian men—'the communion of saints' upon which all churches are built—is not the common performance of external acts, but a communion of soul with soul and of the soul with Christ. It is a consequence of the nature which God has given us that an external organization should help our communion with one another: it is a consequence both of our twofold nature, and of Christ's appointment that external acts should help our communion with Him. But subtler, deeper, diviner than anything of which external things can be either the symbol or the bond is that inner reality and essence of union—that interpenetrating community of thought and character—which St. Paul speaks of as the 'unity of the Spirit,' and which in the sublimest of sublime books, in the most sacred words, is likened to the oneness of the Son with the Father and of the Father with the Son."²

§ 54. Councils.

Best Collections of Acts of Councils by HARDUIN (1715, 12 vols.), and MANSI (1759, 31 vols.).

C. J. HEFELE (R. C. Bishop of Rottenburg, and member of the Vatican Council of 1870): *Conciliengeschichte*, Freiburg 1855; second ed. 1873 sqq., 7 vols. down to the Council of Florence, A. D. 1447 (See vol. I., pp. 83–242). English translation by W. R. Clark and H. R. Oxenham (Edinb. 1871, 2d vol. 1876, 3d vol. 1883).

E. B. PUSEY (d. 1882): *The Councils of the Church, from the Council of Jerusalem, A. D. 51, to the Council of Constantinople, A. D. 381;*

¹ John 10: 16. It was a characteristic, we may say, an ominous mistake of the Latin Vulgate to render *πολυη* by *ovile* (confounding it with *αἰλή*). The Authorized Version has copied the mischievous blunder ("one fold"), but the Revision of 1881 has corrected it.

² Hatch, *l. c.* p. 187 sq.

chiefly as to their constitution, but also as to their object and history.
 Lond. 1857.

A. W. DALE: *The Synod of Elvira* [A. D. 306] *and Christian Life in the Fourth Century.* Lond. 1882.

Comp. the article *Council* in SMITH and CHEETHAM and Lect. VII. in HATCH, Bampton Lect. on the *Organization of the Early Christian Church.* Lond. 1881, pp. 165 sqq.

Councils or Synods were an important means of maintaining and promoting ecclesiastical unity, and deciding questions of faith and discipline.¹ They had a precedent and sanction in the apostolic Conference of Jerusalem for the settlement of the circumcision controversy.² They were suggested moreover by the deliberative political assemblies of the provinces of the Roman empire, which met every year in the chief towns.³ But we have no distinct trace of Councils before the middle of the second century (between 50 and 170), when they first appear, in the disputes concerning Montanism and Easter.

There are several kinds of Synods according to their size, DIOCESAN, PROVINCIAL (or METROPOLITAN), NATIONAL, PATRIARCHAL, and OECUMENICAL (or UNIVERSAL).⁴ Our period knows only the first three. Diocesan synods consist of the

¹ *Concilium*, first used in the ecclesiastical sense by Tertullian, *De Jejuniis*, c. 13, *De Pudicitia*, c. 10; *συνδοχος*, assembly, meeting for deliberation (Herodotus, Thucydides, Plato, Demosthenes, etc.), first used of Christian assemblies in the pseudo-Apostolical *Constitution*, V. 20, and the *Canons*, c. 36 or 38. It may designate a diocesan, or provincial, or general Christian convention for either elective, or judicial, or legislative, or doctrinal purposes.

² A. D. 50. Acts 15 and Gal. 2. Comp. also the Lord's promise to be present where even the smallest number are assembled in *his* name, Matt. 18: 19, 20. See vol. I. § 64, p. 503 sqq.

³ On the provincial councils of the Roman empire see Marquardt, *Römische Staatsverwaltung*, I. 365-377, and Hatch, *l. c.* p. 164 sqq. The deliberations were preceded by a sacrifice, and the president was called highpriest.

⁴ That is, within the limits of the old Roman empire, as the *orbis terrarum*. There never was an *absolutely* universal council. Even the seven Œcumenical Councils from 325 to 787 were confined to the empire, and poorly attended by Western bishops. The Roman Councils held after that time (down to the Vatican Council in 1870) *claim* to be oecumenical, but exclude the Greek and all evangelical churches.

bishop and his presbyters and deacons with the people assisting, and were probably held from the beginning, but are not mentioned before the third century. Provincial synods appear first in Greece, where the spirit of association had continued strong since the days of the Achæan league, and then in Asia Minor, North Africa, Gaul, and Spain. They were held, so far as the stormy times of persecution allowed, once or twice a year, in the metropolis, under the presidency of the metropolitan, who thus gradually acquired a supervision over the other bishops of the province. Special emergencies called out extraordinary sessions, and they, it seems, preceded the regular meetings. They were found to be useful, and hence became institutions.

The synodical meetings were public, and the people of the community around sometimes made their influence felt. In the time of Cyprian, presbyters, confessors, and laymen took an active part, a custom which seems to have the sanction of apostolic practice.¹ At the Synod which met about 256, in the controversy on heretical baptism, there were present eighty-seven bishops, very many priests and deacons, and "*maxima pars plebis*;"² and in the synods concerning the restoration of the *Lapsi*, Cyprian convened besides the bishops, his clergy, the "*confessores*," and "*laicos stantes*" (*i. e.* in good standing).³ Nor was this practice confined to North Africa. We meet it in Syria, at the synods convened on account of Paul of Samosata (264-269), and in Spain at the council of Elvira. Origen, who was merely a presbyter, was the leading spirit of two Arabian synods, and convinced their bishop Beryllus of his Christological

¹ Comp. Acts 15: 6, 7, 12, 13, 23, where the "brethren" are mentioned expressly, besides the apostles and elders, as members of the council, even at the final decision and in the pastoral letter. On the difference of reading, see vol. I. 505.

² Cyprian, *Opera*, p. 329, ed. Baluz. In the acts of this council, however (pp. 330-338), only the bishops appear as voters, from which some writers infer that the laity, and even the presbyters, had no *votum decisivum*. But in several old councils the presbyters and deacons subscribed their names after those of the bishops; see Harduin, *Coll. Conc.* I. 250 and 266; Hefele I. 19.

³ *Epp.* xi., xiii., lxvi., lxxi.
Vol. II. 12.

error. Even the Roman clergy, in their letter to Cyprian,¹ speak of a common synodical consultation of the bishops with the priests, deacons, confessors, and laymen in good standing.

But with the advance of the hierarchical spirit, this republican feature gradually vanished. After the council of Nicæa (325) bishops alone had seat and voice, and the priests appear hereafter merely as secretaries, or advisers, or representatives of their bishops. The bishops, moreover, did not act as representatives of their churches, nor in the name of the body of the believers, as formerly, but in their own right as successors of the apostles. They did not as yet, however, in this period, claim infallibility for their decisions, unless we choose to find a slight approach to such a claim in the formula: "*Placuit nobis, Sancto Spiritu suggerente,*" as used, for example, by the council of Carthage, in 252.² At all events, their decrees at that time had only moral power, and could lay no claim to universal validity. Even Cyprian emphatically asserts absolute independence for each bishop in his own diocese. "To each shepherd," he says, "a portion of the Lord's flock has been assigned, and his account must be rendered to his Master."

The more important acts, such as electing bishops, excommunication, decision of controversies, were communicated to other provinces by *epistolæ synodice*. In the intercourse and the translation of individual members of churches, letters of recommendation³ from the bishop were commonly employed or required as terms of admission. Expulsion from one church was virtually an expulsion from all associated churches.

The effect of the synodical system tended to consolidation. The Christian churches from independent communities held together by a spiritual fellowship of faith, became a powerful

¹ *Ep.* xxxi.

² Cyprian, *Ep.* liv., on the ground of the *ἔδοξε τῷ δυνάμει πνεύματι καὶ ἡμῖν*, *visum est Spiritui Sancto et nobis*, Acts 15: 28. So also, the council of Arles, A. D. 314: *Placuit ergo, presente Spiritu Sancto et angelis ejus* (Harduin, *Coll. Concil.* I. 262).

³ *Epistolæ formatæ*, γράμματα τετυπωμένα.

confederation, a compact moral commonwealth within the political organization of the Roman empire.

As the episcopate culminated in the primacy, so the synodical system rose into the œcumenical councils, which represented the whole church of the Roman empire. But these could not be held till persecution ceased, and the emperor became the patron of Christianity. The first was the celebrated council of Nicæa, in the year 325. The state gave legal validity to the decrees of councils, and enforced them if necessary by all its means of coercion. But the Roman government protected only the *Catholic* or *orthodox* church, except during the progress of the Arian and other controversies, before the final result was reached by the decision of an œcumenical Synod convened by the emperor.¹

§ 55. *The Councils of Elvira, Arles, and Ancyra.*

Among the ante-Nicene Synods some were occasioned by the Montanist controversy in Asia Minor, some by the Paschal controversies, some by the affairs of Origen, some by the Novatian schism and the treatment of the *Lapsi* in Carthage and Rome, some by the controversies on heretical baptism (255, 256), three were held against Paul of Samosata in Antioch (264-269).

In the beginning of the fourth century three Synods, held at Elvira, Arles, and Ancyra, deserve special mention, as they approach the character of general councils and prepared the way for the first œcumenical council. They decided no doctrinal question, but passed important canons on church polity and

¹ This policy was inaugurated by Constantine I. A. D. 326 (*Cod. Theod.* 16, 5, 1). He confined the privileges and immunities which, in 313, he had granted to Christians in his later enactments to "*Catholicæ legis observatoribus.*" He ratified the Nicene creed and exiled Arius (325), although he afterwards wavered and was baptized by a semi-Arian bishop (337). His immediate successors wavered likewise. But as a rule the Byzantine emperors recognized the decisions of councils in dogma and discipline, and discouraged and ultimately prohibited the formation of dissenting sects. The state can, of course, not prevent dissent as an individual opinion; it can only prohibit and punish the open profession. Full religious liberty requires separation of church and state.

Christian morals. They were convened for the purpose of restoring order and discipline after the ravages of the Diocletian persecution. They deal chiefly with the large class of the Lapsed, and reflect the transition state from the ante-Nicene to the Nicene age. They are alike pervaded by the spirit of clericalism and a moderate asceticism.

1. The Synod of ELVIRA (Illiberis, or Eliberis, probably on the site of the modern Granada) was held in 306,¹ and attended by nineteen bishops, and twenty-six presbyters, mostly from the Southern districts of Spain. Deacons and laymen were also present. The Diocletian persecution ceased in Spain after the abdication of Diocletian and Maximian Hercules in 305; while it continued to rage for several years longer in the East under Galerius and Maximin. The Synod passed eighty-one Latin canons against various forms of heathen immorality then still abounding, and in favor of church discipline and austere morals. The Lapsed were forbidden the holy communion even in *articulo mortis* (can. 1). This is more severe than the action of the Nicene Synod. The thirty-sixth canon prohibits the admission of sacred pictures on the walls of the church buildings,² and has often been quoted by Protestants as an argument against image worship as idolatrous; while Roman Catholic writers explain it either as a prohibition of representations of the deity only, or as a prudential measure against heathen desecration of holy things.³ Otherwise the Synod is thoroughly catholic in spirit and tone. Another characteristic feature is the severity against the Jews

¹ Hefele, Gams, and Dale decide in favor of this date against the superscription which puts it down to the period of the Council of Nicæa (324). The chief reason is that Hosius, bishop of Cordova, could not be present in 324, when he was in the Orient, nor at any time after 307, when he joined the company of Constantine as one of his private councillors.

² "*Placuit picturas in ecclesia esse non debere, ne quod colitur et adoratur in parietibus depingatur.*" "There shall be no pictures in the church, lest what is worshipped [saints] and adored [God and Christ] should be depicted on the walls."

³ The last is the interpretation of the canon by De Rossi, in *Roma sotterranea*, Tom. I., p. 97, and Hefele, I. 170. But Dale (p. 292 sqq.) thinks that it was aimed against the idolatry of Christians.

who were numerous in Spain. Christians are forbidden to marry Jews.¹

The leading genius of the Elvira Synod and the second in the list was Hosius, bishop of Corduba (Cordova), who also attended the Council of Nicæa as the chief representative of the West. He was a native of Cordova, the birth-place of Lucan and Seneca, and more than sixty years in the episcopate. Athanasius calls him a man holy in fact as well as in name, and speaks of his wisdom in guiding synods. As a far-seeing statesman, he seems to have conceived the idea of reconciling the empire with the church and influenced the mind of Constantine in that direction. He is one of the most prominent links between the age of persecution and the age of imperial Christianity. He was a strong defender of the Nicene faith, but in his extreme old age he wavered and signed an Arian formula. Soon afterwards he died, a hundred years old (358).

2. The first Council of ARLES in the South of France² was held A. D. 314, in consequence of an appeal of the Donatists to Constantine the Great, against the decision of a Roman Council of 313, consisting of three Gallican and fifteen Italian bishops under the lead of Pope Melchiades. This is the first instance of an appeal of a Christian party to the secular power, and it turned out unfavorably to the Donatists who afterwards became enemies of the government. The Council of Arles was the first called by Constantine and the forerunner of the Council of

¹ The best accounts of the Synod of Elvira are given by Ferdinand de Mendoza, *De confirmando Concilio Illiberitano ad Clementem VIII.*, 1593 (reprinted in Mansi II. 57-397); Fr. Ant. Gonzalez, *Collect. Can. Ecclesie Hispanie*, Madrid, 1808, new ed. with Spanish version, 1849 (reprinted in Bruns, *Bibl. Eccl.* Tom. I. Pars II. 1 sqq.); Hefele, *Conciliengesch.* I. 148-192 (second ed., 1873; or 122 sqq., first ed.); Gams, *Kirchengesch. von Spanien* (1864), vol. II. 1-136; and Dale in his monograph on the *Synod of Elvira*, London, 1882.

² *Concilium Arelatense*, from *Arelate* or *Arelatum Sextanorum*, one of the chief Roman cities in South-Eastern Gaul, where Constantine at one time resided, and afterwards the West Gothic King Eurich. It was perhaps the seat of the first bishopric of Gaul, or second only to that of Lyons and Vienne. Several councils were held in that city, the second in 353 during the Arian controversy.

Nicæa. Augustin calls it even universal, but it was only Western at best. It consisted of thirty-three bishops¹ from Gaul, Sicily, Italy (exclusive of the Pope Sylvester, who, however, was represented by two presbyters and two deacons), North Africa, and Britain (three, from York, London, and probably from Cæleon on Usk), besides thirteen presbyters and twenty-three deacons. It excommunicated Donatus and passed twenty-two canons concerning Easter (which should be held on one and the same day), against the non-residence of clergy, against participation in races and gladiatorial fights (to be punished by excommunication), against the rebaptism of heretics, and on other matters of discipline. Clergymen who could be proven to have delivered sacred books or utensils in persecution (the *traditores*) should be deposed, but their official acts were to be held valid. The assistance of at least three bishops was required at ordination.²

3. The Council of ANCYRA, the capital of Galatia in Asia Minor, was held soon after the death of the persecutor Maximin (313), probably in the year 314, and represented Asia Minor and Syria. It numbered from twelve to eighteen bishops (the lists vary), several of whom eleven years afterwards attended the Council of Nicæa. Marcellus of Ancyra who acquired celebrity in the Arian controversies, presided, according to others Vitalis of Antioch. Its object was to heal the wounds of the Diocletian persecution, and it passed twenty-five canons relating chiefly to the treatment of those who had betrayed their faith or delivered the sacred books in those years of terror. Priests who had offered sacrifice to the gods, but afterwards repented, were prohibited from preaching and all sacerdotal functions, but allowed to retain their clerical dignity. Those who had sacrificed before baptism may be admitted to orders.

¹ Not 633, as McClintock & Strong's "Cyclop." has it sub Arles.

² See Eus. *H. E.* x. 5; Mansi, II. 463-468; München, *Das erste Concil von Arles* (in the "Bonner Zeitschrift für Philos. und kath. Theol.," No. 9, 26, 27), and Hefele I. 201-219 (2nd ed.).

Adultery is to be punished by seven years' penance, murder by life-long penance.¹

A similar Council was held soon afterwards at Neo-Cæsarea in Cappadocia (between 314–325), mostly by the same bishops who attended that of Ancyra, and passed fifteen disciplinary canons.²

§ 56. *Collections of Ecclesiastical Law. The Apostolical Constitutions and Canons.*

SOURCES.

- I. *Διατάξεις τῶν ἁγίων Ἀποστόλων διὰ Κλήμεντος*, etc., CONSTITUTIONES APOSTOLICÆ, first edited by Fr. Turrianus, Ven. 1563, then in Cotelier's ed. of the *Patres Apostolici* (I. 199 sqq.), in Mansi (*Collect. Concil.* I.), and Harduin (*Coll. Conc.* I.); newly edited by Ueltzen, Rost. 1858, and P. A. de Lagarde, Lips. and Lond. 1854 and 1862. Ueltzen gives the *textus receptus* improved. Lagarde aims at the oldest text, which he edited in Syriac (*Didascalia Apostolorum Syriace*, 1854), and in Greek (*Constit. Apostolorum Græce*, 1862). Comp. also Hülgenfeld: *Nov. Test. extra Canonem rec.*, Lips. 1866, IV. 79–92.
- THOS. PELL PLATT: *The Æthiopic Didascalia; or the Æthiopic Version of the Apostolical Constitutions, received in the Church of Abyssinia.* with an Engl. Transl., Lond. 1834 (Printed for the Oriental Translation Fund).
- HENRY TATTAM: *The Apostolic Const.; or the Canons of the Apostles in Optic, with an Engl. translation of the Canons*, Lond. 1848.
- II. *Κανόνες ἐκκλησιαστικοὶ τῶν ἁγ. Ἀποστόλων*, CANONES, qui dicuntur *Apostolorum*, in most collections of church law, and in Cotel. (I. 487 sqq.), Mansi, and Harduin (tom. I.), and in the editions of the Ap. Constitutions at the close. Separate edd. by PAUL DE LAGARDE in Greek and Syriac: *Reliquiæ juris ecclesiastici antiquissimæ Syriace*, Lips. 1856; and *Reliquiæ juris ecclesiastici Græce*, 1856 (both to be had at Trübner's, Strassburg). An Ethiopic translation of the Canons, ed. by WINAND FELL, Leipz. 1871.
- W. G. BEVERIDGE (Bishop of St. Asaph, d. 1708): *Συνόδικον, s. Pandectæ Canonum S. G. Apostolorum et Conciliorum, ab Ecclesia Gr. recept.* Oxon. 1672–82, 2 vols. fol.
- JOHN FULTON: *Index Canonum. In Greek and English. With a Complete Digest of the entire code of canon law in the undivided Primitive Church.* N. York 1872; revised ed. with Preface by P. Schaff, 1883.

¹ Hefele, vol. I. 222 sqq., gives the canons in Greek and German with explanation. He calls it a *Synodus plenaria*, i. e., a general council for the churches of Asia Minor and Syria. See also Mansi II. 514 sqq. Two Arian Synods were held at Ancyra in 358 and 375. ² See Hefele I. 242–251.

CRITICAL DISCUSSIONS.

KRABBE: *Ueber den Ursprung u. den Inhalt der apost. Constitutionen des Clemens Romanus.* Hamb. 1829.

S. v. DREY (R. C.): *Neue Untersuchungen über die Constitut. u. Kanones der Ap.* Tüb. 1832.

J. W. BICKELL: *Gesch. des Kirchenrechts.* Giess. 1843 (I. 1, pp. 52-255).

CHASE: *Constitutions of the Holy Apostles, including the Canons; Whiston's version revised from the Greek; with a prize essay (of Krabbe) upon their origin and contents.* New York, 1848.

BUNSEN: *Hippolytus u. seine Zeit.*, Leipz. 1852 (I. pp. 418-525, and II. pp. 1-126); and in the 2d Engl. ed. *Hippolytus and his Age, or Christianity and Mankind*, Lond. 1854 (vols. V-VII).

HEFELE (R. C.): *Conciliengeschichte* I. p. 792 sqq. (second ed. 1873). He gives the canons in Greek with Latin version (800-827).

PAUL DE LAGARDE: *De indole et origine Canonum et Constitutionum Apostolorum*, announced, but not yet published (at least not in his "Symmicta," I. 1878, and II. 1880).

Comp. articles on Ap. Const. and Can. in Herzog, and Smith and Cheetham.

Towards the end of the third century collections of church laws and usages made their appearance. Tradition traces them to apostolic origin; but they evidently arose at various periods and in different parts of the church, and hence have been excluded from the canon as post-and pseudo-apostolic. They are valuable chiefly as affording a complete view of the government, the cultus, and the practical life of the church in the third and fourth centuries.

One of the oldest collections of this sort is the "APOSTOLIC CHURCH ORDER," which originated, probably, in the beginning of the third century.¹ It contains, in thirty-five articles, moral precepts of John, and ordinances of the other apostles respecting the duties of church officers and of laymen, and respecting the

¹ *Ordinatio ecclesiastica Apostolorum*, known through Æthiopic and Arabic MSS. and recently through a Greek text discovered and published by Bickell (*l. c.* pp. 107-132 from a Vienna MS. with a German translation), bearing the title *αἱ διατάγαι αἱ διὰ Κλήμεντος καὶ κανόνες ἐκκλησιαστικοὶ τῶν ἁγίων Ἀποστόλων*. The work is perhaps identical with the "Doctrines of the Apostles" (τῶν Ἀποστόλων διδασχαι), mentioned by Eusebius III. 25. See Mejer in Herzog, new ed. I. 562, and Hilgenfeld, *l. c.* IV. 79.

part of women in the functions of worship, with a closing exhortation from Peter to obey these directions. It is remarkable, that in the account of the pretended acts of the apostolic council, even Martha and Mary, besides the apostles, are introduced, as speaking.

Much more famous and important are the APOSTOLICAL CONSTITUTIONS.¹ The work is, in form, a fabrication, professing to be a bequest of all the apostles, handed down through the Roman bishop Clement, or dictated to him. It begins with the words: "The apostles and elders, to all who among the nations have believed in the Lord Jesus Christ. Grace be with you, and peace." It contains, in eight books, a collection of moral exhortations, church laws and usages, and liturgical formularies, which had gradually arisen in the various churches from the close of the first century, the time of the Roman Clement, downward, particularly in Jerusalem, Antioch, Alexandria, and Rome, partly on the authority of apostolic practice. These were at first orally transmitted; then committed to writing in different versions, like the creeds; and finally brought, by some unknown hand, into their present form. The first six books, which have a strong Jewish-Christian tone, are the original basis, and according to recent investigations, were composed, with the exception of some later interpolations, at the end of the third century, in Syria, (or Asia Minor). The seventh and eighth books, each of which, however, forms an independent piece, are later additions, and date from the beginning of the fourth century, at all events, from a period before the council of Nicæa (325). The collection of the three parts into one whole may be the work of the author of the eighth book. It is probably of Eastern authorship, for the church of Rome nowhere occupies a position of priority or supremacy. The

¹ Διαταγαὶ τῶν Ἀποστόλων, also διδασκαλία, διατάξεις, διδαχή, διδαχαί, τῶν Ἀποστόλων, διδασκαλία καθολικῇ. The oldest form is probably the Syriac text in the library of Paris, called the "Didascalia, or doctrine of the twelve Apostles and holy Disciples of our Saviour," published by P. de Lagarde. The 7th and 8th books, as they now stand, are omitted in the Syriac text and the Æthiopic and Arabic versions.

Then handed in
L. M.
18. 130

No. of Book
1. 4

design was, to set forth the ecclesiastical life for laity and clergy, and to establish the episcopal theocracy. These constitutions were more used and consulted in the East than any work of the fathers, and were taken as the rule in matters of discipline, like the Holy Scriptures in matters of doctrine. Still the collection, as such, did not rise to formal legal authority, and the second Trullan council of 692 (known as *quinisextum*), rejected it for its heretical interpolations, while the same council acknowledged the Apostolical Canons.¹

The "APOSTOLICAL CANONS" consist of brief church rules or prescriptions, in some copies eighty-five in number, in others fifty, and pretend to be of apostolic origin, being drawn up by Clement of Rome from the directions of the apostles, who in several places speak in the first person. They are incorporated in the "Constitutions" as an appendix to the eighth book, but are found also by themselves, in Greek, Syriac, Æthiopic, and Arabic manuscripts. Their contents are borrowed partly from the Scriptures, especially the Pastoral Epistles, partly from tradition, and partly from the decrees of early councils at Antioch, Neo-Cæsarea, Nicæa, Laodicea, &c. (but probably not Chalcedon, 451). They are, therefore, evidently of gradual growth, and were collected either after the middle of the fourth century,² or not till the latter part of the fifth,³ by some

¹ Turrianus, Bovius, and the eccentric Whiston regarded these pseudo-apostolic Constitutions as a genuine work of the apostles, containing Christ's teaching during the forty days between the Resurrection and Ascension. But Baronius, Bellarmin, and Petavius attached little weight to them, and the Protestant scholars, Daillé and Blondel, attacked and overthrew their genuineness and authority. The work is a gradual growth, with many repetitions, interpolations, and contradictions, and anachronisms. James, who was beheaded (A. D. 44), is made to sit in council with Paul (VI. 14), but elsewhere is represented as dead (V. 7). The apostles condemn post-apostolic heresies and heretics (VI. 8), and appoint days of commemoration of their death (VIII. 33). Episcopacy is extravagantly extolled. P. de Lagarde says: (*Rel juris eccles. ant.*, Preface, p. IV.): "*Communis vivorum doctorum fere omnium nunc invaluit opinio eas [constitutiones] seculo tertio clam succrevisse et quibus sæc aliquando libris absolute fuissent, septimo et octavo auctas esse postea.*"

² As Bickell supposes. Beveridge put the collection in the third century.

³ According to Daillé, Dr. von Drey, and Mejer.

unknown hand, probably also in Syria. They are designed to furnish a complete system of discipline for the clergy. Of the laity they say scarcely a word. The eighty-fifth and last canon settles the canon of the Scripture, but reckons among the New Testament books two epistles of Clement and the genuine books of the pseudo-Apostolic Constitutions.

The Greek church, at the Trullan council of 692, adopted the whole collection of eighty-five canons as authentic and binding, and John of Damascus placed it even on a parallel with the epistles of the apostle Paul, thus showing that he had no sense of the infinite superiority of the inspired writings. The Latin church rejected it at first, but subsequently decided for the smaller collection of fifty canons, which Dionysius Exiguus about the year 500 translated from a Greek manuscript.

§ 57. *Church Discipline.*

- I. Several Tracts of TERTULLIAN (especially *De Pœnitentia*). The *Philosophumena* of HIPPOLYTUS (l. IX.). The *Epistles* of CYPRIAN, and his work *De Lapsis*. The *Epistolæ Canonice* of DIONYSIUS of Alex., GREGORY THAUMATURGUS (about 260), and PETER of Alex. (about 306), collected in ROUTH's *Reliquiæ Sacræ*, tom. III., 2nd ed. The CONSTIT. APOST. II. 16, 21-24. The CANONS of the councils of *Elvira*, *Arelate*, *Ancyra*, *Neo-Cæsarea*, and *Nicæa*, between 306 and 325 (in the Collections of Councils, and in ROUTH's *Reliq. Sacr.* tom. IV.).
 - II. MORINUS: *De Disciplina in administratione sacram pœnitentiæ*, Par. 1651 (Venet. 1702).
 - MARSHALL: *Penitential Discipline of the Primitive Church*. Lond. 1714 (new ed. 1844).
 - FR. FRANK: *Die Bussdisciplin der Kirche bis zum 7 Jahrh.* Mainz. 1868.
- On the discipline of the Montanists, see BONWETSCH: *Die Geschichte des Montanismus* (1881), pp. 108-118.

The ancient church was distinguished for strict discipline. Previous to Constantine the Great, this discipline rested on purely moral sanctions, and had nothing to do with civil constraints and punishments. A person might be expelled from one congregation without the least social injury. But the more powerful the church became, the more serious were the consequences

of her censures, and when she was united with the state, ecclesiastical offenses were punished as offenses against the state, in extreme cases even with death. The church always abhorred blood ("*ecclesia non sinit sanguinem*"), but she handed the offender over to the civil government to be dealt with according to law. The worst offenders for many centuries were heretics or teachers of false doctrine.

The object of discipline was, on the one hand, the dignity and purity of the church, on the other, the spiritual welfare of the offender; punishment being designed to be also correction. The extreme penalty was excommunication, or exclusion from all the rights and privileges of the faithful. This was inflicted for heresy and schism, and all gross crimes, such as theft, murder, adultery, blasphemy, and the denial of Christ in persecution. After Tertullian, these and like offences, incompatible with the regenerate state, were classed as mortal sins,¹ in distinction from venial sins or sins of weakness.²

Persons thus excluded passed into the class of penitents,³ and could attend only the catechumen worship. Before they could be re-admitted to the fellowship of the church, they were required to pass through a process like that of the catechumens, only still more severe, and to prove the sincerity of their penitence by the absence from all pleasures, from ornament in dress, and from nuptial intercourse, by confession, frequent prayer, fasting, almsgiving, and other good works. Under pain of a troubled conscience and of separation from the only saving church, they readily submitted to the severest penances. The church teachers did not neglect, indeed, to inculcate the penitent spirit and the contrition of the heart as the main thing. Yet many of them laid too great stress on certain outward exercises.

¹ *Peccata mortalia*, or, *ad mortem*; after a rather arbitrary interpretation of 1 John 5: 16. Tertullian gives seven mortal sins: *Homicidium, idololatria, fraus, negatio, blasphemia, utique et moechia et fornicatio et si qua alia violatio templi Dei. De pudic.* c. 19. These he declares *irremissibilia, horum ultra exorator non erit Christus*; that is, if they be committed *after* baptism; for baptism washes away all former guilt. Hence he counselled delay of baptism.

² *Peccata venialia.*

³ *Pœnitentes.*

Tertullian conceived the entire church penance as a "satisfaction" paid to God. This view could easily obscure to a dangerous degree the all-sufficient merit of Christ, and lead to that self-righteousness against which the Reformation raised so loud a voice.

The time and the particular form of the penances, in the second century, was left as yet to the discretion of the several ministers and churches. Not till the end of the third century was a rigorous and fixed system of penitential discipline established, and then this could hardly maintain itself a century. Though originating in deep moral earnestness, and designed only for good, it was not fitted to promote the genuine spirit of repentance. Too much formality and legal constraint always deadens the spirit, instead of supporting and regulating it. This disciplinary formalism first appears, as already familiar, in the council of Ancyra, about the year 314.¹

Classes of Penitents.

The penitents were distributed into four classes:—

(1) The **WEEPERS**,² who prostrated themselves at the church doors in mourning garments and implored restoration from the clergy and the people.

(2) The **HEARERS**,³ who, like the catechumens called by the same name, were allowed to hear the Scripture lessons and the sermon.

(3) The **KNEELERS**,⁴ who attended the public prayers, but only in the kneeling posture.

(4) The **STANDERS**,⁵ who could take part in the whole worship standing, but were still excluded from the communion.

¹ Can. 4 sqq. See Hefele, *Conciliengesch.* (second ed.) I. 225 sqq. Comp. also the fifth canon of Neocæsarea, and Hefele, p. 246.

² Προσκλαίοντες, *flentes*; also called χειμάζοντες, *hiemantes*.

³ Ἀκορόμενοι, *audientes*, or *auditores*. The fourteenth canon of Nicæa (Hefele I. 418) directs that "Catechumens who had fallen, should for three years be only hearers, but afterwards pray with the Catechumens."

⁴ Γονυκλίνοντες, *genuflectentes*; also ὑποπίπτοντες, *substrati*. The term γόνυ κλίνων as designating a class of penitents occurs only in the 5th canon of the Council of Neocæsarea, held after 314 and before 325.

⁵ Συνιστάμενοι, *consistentes*.

Those classes answer to the four stages of penance.¹ The course of penance was usually three or four years long, but, like the catechetical preparation, could be shortened according to circumstances, or extended to the day of death. In the East there were special penitential presbyters,² intrusted with the oversight of the penitential discipline.

Restoration.

After the fulfilment of this probation came the act of reconciliation.³ The penitent made a public confession of sin, received absolution by the laying on of hands of the minister, and precatory or optative benediction,⁴ was again greeted by the congregation with the brotherly kiss, and admitted to the celebration of the communion. For the ministry alone was he for ever disqualified. Cyprian and Firmilian, however, guard against the view, that the priestly absolution of hypocritical penitents is unconditional and infallible, and can forestall the judgment of God.⁵

Two Parties.

In reference to the propriety of any restoration in certain cases, there was an important difference of sentiment, which gave rise to several schisms. All agreed that the church punishment

¹ Πρόσκλησις, *fletus*; ἀκρόασις, *auditus*; ἐκπότῳσις, *prostratio, humiliatio*; σὺστασις, *consistentia*. The last three classes are supposed to correspond to three classes of catechumens, but without good reason. There was only one class of catechumens, or at most two classes. See below, § 72.

² Πρεσβύτεροι ἐπὶ τῆς μεταβολῆς, *presbyteri poenitentiarum*.

³ *Reconciliatio*.

⁴ The declarative, and especially the direct indicative or judicial form of absolution seems to be of later origin.

⁵ *Cypr. Epist. LV.*, c. 15: "*Neque enim prejudicamus Domino judicaturō, quominus si poenitentiam plenam et justam peccatoris invenerit tunc ratum faciat, quod a nobis fuerit hic statutum. Si vero nos aliquis poenitentiae simulatione deluserit, Deus, cui non deridetur, et qui cor hominis intuetur, de his, quae nos minus perspeximus, iudicet et servorum suorum sententiam Dominus emendet.*" *Comp.* the similar passages in *Epist. LXXV.* 4, and *De lapsis*, c. 17. But if the church can err in imparting absolution to the unworthy, as Cyprian concedes, she can err also in withholding absolution and in passing sentence of excommunication.

could not forestall the judgment of God at the last day, but was merely temporal, and looked to the repentance and conversion of the subject. But it was a question whether the church should restore even the grossest offender on his confession of sorrow, or should, under certain circumstances, leave him to the judgment of God. The strict, puritanic party, to which the Montanists, the Novatians, and the Donatists belonged, and, for a time, the whole African and Spanish Church, took ground against the restoration of those who had forfeited the grace of baptism by a mortal sin, especially by denial of Christ; since, otherwise, the church would lose her characteristic holiness, and encourage loose morality. The moderate party, which prevailed in the East, in Egypt, and especially in Rome, and was so far the catholic party, held the principle that the church should refuse absolution and communion, at least on the death-bed, to no penitent sinner. Paul himself restored the Corinthian offender.¹

The point here in question was of great practical moment in the times of persecution, when hundreds and thousands renounced their faith through weakness, but as soon as the danger was passed, pleaded for readmission into the church, and were very often supported in their plea by the potent intercessions of the martyrs and confessors, and their *libelli pacis*. The principle was: necessity knows no law. A mitigation of the penitential discipline seemed in such cases justified by every consideration of charity and policy. So great was the number of the lapsed in the Decian persecution, that even Cyprian found himself compelled to relinquish his former rigoristic views, all the more because he held that out of the visible church there was no salvation.

The strict party were zealous for the holiness of God; the moderate, for his grace. The former would not go beyond the revealed forgiveness of sins by baptism, and were content with urging the lapsed to repentance, without offering them hope of

¹ 1 Cor. 5: 1 sqq. Comp. 2 Cor. 2: 5 sqq.

absolution in this life. The latter refused to limit the mercy of God and expose the sinner to despair. The former were carried away with an ideal of the church which cannot be realized till the second coming of Christ; and while impelled to a fanatical separatism, they proved, in their own sects, the impossibility of an absolutely pure communion on earth. The others not rarely ran to the opposite extreme of a dangerous looseness, were quite too lenient, even towards mortal sins, and sapped the earnestness of the Christian morality.

It is remarkable that the lax penitential discipline had its chief support from the end of the second century, in the Roman church. Tertullian assails that church for this with bitter mockery. Hippolytus, soon after him, does the same; for, though no Montanist, he was zealous for strict discipline. According to his statement (in the ninth book of his *Philosophumena*), evidently made from fact, the pope Callistus, whom a later age stamped a saint because it knew little of him, admitted *bigami* and *trigami* to ordination, maintained that a bishop could not be deposed, even though he had committed a mortal sin, and appealed for his view to Rom. 14: 4, to the parable of the tares and the wheat, Matt. 13: 30, and, above all, to the ark of Noah, which was a symbol of the church, and which contained both clean and unclean animals, even dogs and wolves. In short, he considered no sin too great to be loosed by the power of the keys in the church. And this continued to be the view of his successors.

But here we perceive, also, how the looser practice in regard to penance was connected with the interest of the hierarchy. It favored the power of the priesthood, which claimed for itself the right of absolution; it was at the same time matter of worldly policy; it promoted the external spread of the church, though at the expense of the moral integrity of her membership, and facilitated both her subsequent union with the state and her hopeless confusion with the world. No wonder the church of Rome, in this point, as in others, triumphed at last over all opposition.

§ 58. *Church Schisms.*

- I. **On** the Schism of HIPPOLYTUS: The *Philosophumena* of HIPPOL. lib. IX. (ed. Miller, Oxf. 1851, better by Duncker and Schneidewin, Göttingen, 1859), and the monographs on Hippolytus, by Bunsen, Döllinger, Wordsworth, and Jacobi (which will be noticed in another chapter).
- II. **On** the Schism of Felicissimus: CYPRIAN: *Epist.* 38-40, 42, 55.
- III. **On** the Novatian Schism: HIPPOL.: *Philosoph.* l. IX. CYPRIAN: *Epist.* 41-52; and the Epistles of CORNELIUS of Rome, and DIONYSIUS of Alex., in Euseb. *H. E.*, VI. 43-45; VII. 8.
- IV. **On** the Meletian Schism: Documents in Latin translation in MAFFEI: *Osservazioni Letterarie*, Verona, 1738, tom. III. p. 11 sqq., and the Greek fragments from the *Liber de pœnitentia* of Peter of Alexandria in ROUTH: *Reliquiæ Sacr.* vol. II. pp. 21-51. EPIPHAN.: *Hær.* 68 (favorable to Meletius); ATHANAS.: *Apol. contra Arianos*, § 59; and after him, SOCR., SOZOM., and THEOD. (very unfavorable to Meletius).

Out of this controversy on the restoration of the lapsed, proceeded four schisms during the third century; two in Rome, one in North Africa, and one in Egypt. Montanism, too, was in a measure connected with the question of penitential discipline, but extended also to several other points of Christian life, and will be discussed in a separate chapter.

I. The Roman schism of HIPPOLYTUS. This has recently been brought to the light by the discovery of his *Philosophumena* (1851). Bishop Hippolytus was a worthy disciple of Irenæus, and the most learned and zealous divine in Rome, during the pontificates of Zephyrinus (202-217), and Callistus (217-222). He was an advocate of strict views on discipline in opposition to the lax practice of Callistus, which we have described in the previous section. He gives a most unfavorable account of the antecedents of Callistus, and charges him and his predecessor with the patripassian heresy. The difference, therefore, was doctrinal as well as disciplinarian. Hippolytus had sympathizers in Rome and in Portus (the port of Rome opposite Ostia), and seems to have become the first anti-pope, the forerunner of Novatian. This is the easiest solution of the con-

flicting accounts.¹ In the preface to the *Philosophumena* which is now generally ascribed to him, he ranks himself with the successors of the apostles, that is with the bishops. Ecclesiastical tradition says nothing of this schism, but represents him as bishop of Portus, and a martyr, and celebrates his memory. Prudentius, the Spanish poet, represents him as a Roman presbyter, who first took part in the Novatian schism, then returned to the Catholic church, and was torn to pieces by wild horses at Ostia on account of his faith. The remembrance of the schism was lost in the glory of his supposed or real martyrdom. According to the chronological catalogue of Popes from A. D. 354, a "presbyter" Hippolytus, together with the Roman bishop Pontianus, the successor of Callistus, was banished from Rome in the reign of Alexander Severus (235), to the mines of Sardinia.²

II. The schism of FELICISSIMUS, at Carthage, about the year 250, originated in the personal dissatisfaction of five presbyters with the hasty and irregular election of Cyprian to the bishopric, by the voice of the congregation, very soon after his baptism, A. D. 248. At the head of this opposition party stood the presbyter Novatus, an unprincipled ecclesiastical demagogue, of restless, insubordinate spirit and notorious character,³ and the deacon Felicissimus, whom Novatus ordained, without the permission or knowledge of Cyprian, therefore illegally, whether with his own hands or through those of foreign bishops. The controversy cannot, however, from this circumstance, be construed, as it is by Neander and others, into a presbyterial reaction against episcopal autocracy. For the opponents themselves afterwards chose a bishop in the person of Fortunatus.

¹ See especially Döllinger's *Hippol. and Call.*, Engl. transl. by A. Plummer (1876), p. 92 sqq.

² See Mommsen, *Ueber den Chronographen vom Jahr 354* (1850), Lipsius, *Chronologie der röm. Bischöfe*, p. 40 sqq.; Döllinger, *l. c.* p. 332 sqq.; Jacobi in Herzog² VI. 142 sqq.

³ Cyprian charges him with terrible cruelties, such as robbing widows and orphans, gross abuse of his father, and of his wife even during her pregnancy; and says, that he was about to be arraigned for this and similar misconduct when the Decian persecution broke out. *Ep.* 49.

The Novatians and the Meletians likewise had the episcopal form of organization, though doubtless with many irregularities in the ordination.

After the outbreak of the Decian persecution this personal rivalry received fresh nourishment and new importance from the question of discipline. Cyprian originally held Tertullian's principles, and utterly opposed the restoration of the lapsed, till further examination changed his views. Yet, so great was the multitude of the fallen, that he allowed an exception in *periculo mortis*. His opponents still saw even in this position an unchristian severity, least of all becoming him, who, as they misrepresented him, fled from his post for fear of death. They gained the powerful voice of the confessors, who in the face of their own martyrdom freely gave their peace-bills to the lapsed. A regular trade was carried on in these indulgences. An arrogant confessor, Lucian, wrote to Cyprian in the name of the rest, that he granted restoration to all apostates, and begged him to make this known to the other bishops. We can easily understand how this lenity from those who stood in the fire, might take more with the people than the strictness of the bishop, who had secured himself. The church of Novatus and Felicissimus was a resort of all the careless *lapsi*. Felicissimus set himself also against a visitation of churches and a collection for the poor, which Cyprian ordered during his exile.

When the bishop returned, after Easter, 251, he held a council at Carthage, which, though it condemned the party of Felicissimus, took a middle course on the point in dispute. It sought to preserve the integrity of discipline, yet at the same time to secure the fallen against despair. It therefore decided for the restoration of those who proved themselves truly penitent, but against restoring the careless, who asked the communion merely from fear of death. Cyprian afterwards, when the persecution was renewed, under Gallus, abolished even this limitation. He was thus, of course, not entirely consistent, but gradually accommodated his principles to circumstances and to

the practice of the Roman church.¹ His antagonists elected their bishop, indeed, but were shortly compelled to yield to the united force of the African and Roman churches, especially as they had no moral earnestness at the bottom of their cause.

His conflict with this schismatical movement strengthened Cyprian's episcopal authority, and led him in his doctrine of the unity of the church to the principle of absolute exclusiveness.

III. The NOVATIAN schism in Rome was prepared by the controversy already alluded to between Hippolytus and Callistus. It broke out soon after the African schism, and, like it, in consequence of an election of bishop. But in this case the opposition advocated the strict discipline against the lenient practice of the dominant church. The Novatianists² considered themselves the only pure communion,³ and unchurched all churches which defiled themselves by re-admitting the lapsed, or any other gross offenders. They went much farther than Cyprian, even as far as the later Donatists. They admitted the possibility of mercy for a mortal sinner, but denied the power and the right of the church to decide upon it, and to prevent, by absolution, the judgment of God upon such offenders. They also, like Cyprian, rejected heretical baptism, and baptized all who came over to them from other communions not just so rigid as themselves.

At the head of this party stood the Roman presbyter Novatian,⁴ an earnest, learned, but gloomy man, who had come to faith through severe demoniacal disease and inward struggles. He fell out with Cornelius, who, after the Decian persecution in 251, was nominated bishop of Rome, and at once, to the grief of many, showed great indulgence towards the lapsed. Among his adherents the above-named Novatus of Carthage was particularly busy, either from a mere spirit of opposition to existing authority, or from having changed his former lax principles on his removal to Rome. Novatian, against his will, was chosen

¹ In *Ep. 52, Ad Antonianum*, he tried to justify himself in regard to this change in his views.

² *Novatiani. Novatianenses.*

³ *Καθαροί.*

⁴ Eusebius and the Greeks call him *Νοβάριος*, and confound him with Novatus of Carthage. Dionysius of Alex., however, calls him *Νοβατιανός*.

bishop by the opposition. Cornelius excommunicated him. Both parties courted the recognition of the churches abroad. Fabian, bishop of Antioch, sympathized with the rigorists. Dionysius of Alexandria, on the contrary, accused them of blaspheming the most gracious Lord Jesus Christ, by calling him unmerciful. And especially Cyprian, from his zeal for ecclesiastical unity and his aversion to Novatus, took sides with Cornelius, whom he regarded the legitimate bishop of Rome.

In spite of this strong opposition the Novatian sect, by virtue of its moral earnestness, propagated itself in various provinces of the West and the East down to the sixth century. In Phrygia it combined with the remnants of the Montanists. The council of Nicæa recognized its ordination, and endeavored, without success, to reconcile it with the Catholic church. Constantine, at first dealt mildly with the Novatians, but afterwards prohibited them to worship in public and ordered their books to be burnt.

IV. The MELETIAN schism in Egypt arose in the Diocletian persecution, about 305, and lasted more than a century, but, owing to the contradictory character of our accounts, it is not so well understood. It was occasioned by Meletius, bishop of Lycopolis in Thebais, who, according to one statement, from zeal for strict discipline, according to another, from sheer arrogance, rebelled against his metropolitan, Peter of Alexandria (martyred in 311), and during his absence encroached upon his diocese with ordinations, excommunications, and the like. Peter warned his people against him, and, on returning from his flight, deposed him as a disturber of the peace of the church. But the controversy continued, and spread over all Egypt. The council of Nicæa endeavored, by recognizing the ordination of the twenty-nine Meletian bishops, and by other compromise measures, to heal the division; but to no purpose. The Meletians afterwards made common cause with the Arians.

The DONATIST schism, which was more formidable than any of those mentioned, likewise grew out of the Diocletian persecution, but belongs more to the next period.

CHAPTER V.

CHRISTIAN WORSHIP.

- I. The richest sources here are the works of JUSTIN M., TERTULLIAN, CYPRIAN, EUSEBIUS, and the so-called CONSTITUTIONES APOSTOLICÆ; also CLEMENT OF ROME (*Ad Cor.* 59-61), and the Homily falsely ascribed to him (fully publ. 1875).
- II. See the books quoted in vol. I. 455, and the relevant sections in the archæological works of BINGHAM (*Antiquities of the Christian Church*, Lond. 1708-22. 10 vols.; new ed. Lond. 1852, in 2 vols.), AUGUSTI (whose larger work fills 12 vols., Leipz. 1817-31, and his *Handbuch der Christl. Archæol.* 3 vols. Leipz. 1836), BINTERIM (R. C.), SIEGEL, SMITH & CHEETHAM (*Dict. of Chr. Ant.*, Lond. 1875, 2 vols.), and GARRUCCI (*Storia della arte crist.*, 1872-80, 6 vols.)

§ 59. Places of Common Worship.

R. HOSPINIUS: *De Templis*, etc. Tig. 1603. And in his *Opera*, Genev. 1681.

FABRICIUS: *De Templis vet. Christ.* Helmst. 1704.

MURATORI (R. C.): *De primis Christianorum Ecclesiis.* Arezzo, 1770.

HÜBSCH: *Altchristliche Kirchen.* Karlsruh, 1860.

JOS. MULLOOLY: *St. Clement and his Basilica in Rome.* Rome, 2nd ed. 1873.

DE VOGÜÉ: *Architecture civile et relig. du 1^{er} au VII^e siècle.* Paris, 1877, 2 vols.

The numerous works on church architecture (by Fergusson, Brown, Bunsen, Kugler, Kinkel, Kreuser, Schnaase, Lübke, Voillet-le-Duc, De Vogüé, etc.) usually begin with the basilicas of the Constantinian age, which are described in vol. III. 541 sqq.

THE Christian worship, as might be expected from the humble condition of the church in this period of persecution, was very simple, strongly contrasting with the pomp of the Greek and Roman communion; yet by no means puritanic. We perceive here, as well as in organization and doctrine, the gradual and sure approach of the Nicene age, especially in the ritualistic solemnity of the baptismal service, and the mystical character of the eucharistic sacrifice.

Let us glance first at the places of public worship. Until about the close of the second century the Christians held their worship mostly in private houses, or in desert places, at the graves of martyrs, and in the crypts of the catacombs. This arose from their poverty, their oppressed and outlawed condition, their love of silence and solitude, and their aversion to all heathen art. The apologists frequently assert, that their brethren had neither temples nor altars (in the pagan sense of these words), and that their worship was spiritual and independent of place and ritual. Heathens, like Celsus, cast this up to them as a reproach; but Origen admirably replied: The humanity of Christ is the highest temple and the most beautiful image of God, and true Christians are living statues of the Holy Spirit, with which no Jupiter of Phidias can compare. Justin Martyr said to the Roman prefect: The Christians assemble wherever it is convenient, because their God is not, like the gods of the heathen, inclosed in space, but is invisibly present everywhere. Clement of Alexandria refutes the superstition, that religion is bound to any building.

In private houses the room best suited for worship and for the love-feast was the oblong dining-hall, the *triclinium*, which was never wanting in a convenient Greek or Roman dwelling, and which often had a semicircular niche, like the choir¹ in the later churches. An elevated seat² was used for reading the Scriptures and preaching, and a simple table³ for the holy communion. Similar arrangements were made also in the catacombs, which sometimes have the form of a subterranean church.

The first traces of special houses of worship⁴ occur in Tertul-

¹ *Chorus, βῆμα*. The two are sometimes identified, sometimes distinguished, the bema being the sanctuary proper for the celebration of the holy mysteries, the choir the remaining part of the chancel for the clergy; while the nave was for the laity.

² *Ἀμβων, suggestus, pulpitum*.

³ *Τράπεζα, mensa sacra*; also *ara, altare*.

⁴ *Ἐκκλησία, ἐκκλησιαστήριον, κυριακὰ, οἶκος θεοῦ, ecclesia, dominica, domus Dei, templum*. The names for a church building in the Teutonic and Slavonic lan-

lian, who speaks of going to church,¹ and in his contemporary, Clement of Alexandria, who mentions the double meaning of the word *ἐκκλησία*.² About the year 230, Alexander Severus granted the Christians the right to a place in Rome against the protest of the tavern-keepers, because the worship of God in any form was better than tavern-keeping. After the middle of the third century the building of churches began in great earnest, as the Christians enjoyed over forty years of repose (260-303), and multiplied so fast that, according to Eusebius, more spacious places of devotion became everywhere necessary. The Diocletian persecution began (in 303,) with the destruction of the magnificent church at Nicomedia, which, according to Lactantius, even towered above the neighboring imperial palace.³ Rome is supposed to have had, as early as the beginning of the fourth century, more than forty churches. But of the form and arrangement of them we have no account. With Constantine the Great begins the era of church architecture, and its first style is the Basilica. The emperor himself set the example, and built magnificent churches in Jerusalem, Bethlehem, and Constantinople, which, however, have undergone many changes. His contemporary, the historian Eusebius, gives us the first account of a church edifice which Paulinus built in Tyre between A.D. 313 and 322.⁴ It included a large portico (*πρόπυλον*); a quadrangular atrium (*αἶθριον*), surrounded by

galleries (*Kirche, Church, Kerk, Kyrka, Tserkoff*, etc.) are derived from the Greek *κυριακή, κυριακόν* (belonging to the Lord, the Lord's house), through the medium of the Gothic; the names in the Romanic languages (*Chiesa, Igreja, Eglise*, etc.) from the Latin *ecclesia*, although this is also from the Greek, and means originally *assembly* (either a local congregation, or the whole body of Christians). Churches erected specially in honor of martyrs were called *martyria, memoriae, tropaea, tituli*.

¹ *In ecclesiam, in domum Dei venire*,

² *Τόπος and ἀθροισμα τῶν ἐκλεκτῶν.*

³ *De Mort. Persec.* c. 12. The Chronicle of Edessa (in *Assem. Bibl. Orient.* XI. 397) mentions the destruction of Christian temples A. D. 292.

⁴ *Hist. Eccl.* X. 4. Eusebius also describes, in rhetorical exaggeration and looseness, the churches built by Constantine in Jerusalem, Antioch, and Constantinople (*Vita Const.* I. III. 50; IV. 58, 59). See De Vogüé, *Eglises de la terre-sainte*, Hübsch, l. c., and Smith & Cheetham, I. 368 sqq.

ranges of columns; a fountain in the centre of the atrium for the customary washing of hands and feet before entering the church; interior porticoes; the nave or central space (*βασιλειος οίκος*) with galleries above the aisles, and covered by a roof of cedar of Lebanon; and the most holy altar (*ἄγιον ἁγίων θυσιαστήριον*). Eusebius mentions also the thrones (*θρόνοι*) for the bishops and presbyters, and benches or seats. The church was surrounded by halls and inclosed by a wall, which can still be traced. Fragments of five granite columns of this building are among the ruins of Tyre.

The description of a church in the Apostolic Constitutions,¹ implies that the clergy occupy the space at the east end of the church (in the choir), and the people the nave, but mentions no barrier between them. Such a barrier, however, existed as early as the fourth century, when the laity were forbidden to enter the enclosure of the altar.

§ 60. *The Lord's Day.*

See Lit. in vol. I. 476.

The celebration of the Lord's Day in memory of the resurrection of Christ dates undoubtedly from the apostolic age.² Nothing short of apostolic precedent can account for the universal religious observance in the churches of the second century. There is no dissenting voice. This custom is confirmed by the

¹ II. 57, ed. Ueltzen, p. 66 sqq.

² The original designations of the Christian Sabbath or weekly rest-day are: *ἡ μία* or *μία σαββάτων*, the first day of the week (Matt. 28: 1; Mark 16: 2; Luke 24: 1; John 21: 1; Acts 20: 7; 1 Cor. 16: 2), and *ἡ ἡμέρα κυριακή*, the Lord's Day, which first occurs in Rev. 1: 10, then in Ignatius and the fathers. The Latins render it *Dominicus* or *Dominica dies*. Barnabas calls it the eighth day, in contrast to the Jewish sabbath. After Constantine the Jewish term *Sabbath* and the heathen term *Sunday* (*ἡμέρα τοῦ ἡλίου*, *dies Solis*) were used also. In the edict of Gratian, A. D. 386, two are combined: "*Solis die, quem Dominicum ritè dixere majores.*" On the Continent of Europe *Sunday* has ruled out *Sabbath* completely; while in England, Scotland, and the United States *Sabbath* is used as often as the other or oftener in religious literature. The difference is characteristic of the difference in the Continental and the Anglo-American observance of the Lord's Day.

testimonies of the earliest post-apostolic writers, as Barnabas,¹ Ignatius,² and Justin Martyr.³ It is also confirmed by the younger Pliny from the age of Trajan.⁴

Considering that the church was struggling into existence, and that a large number of Christians were slaves of heathen masters, we cannot expect an unbroken regularity of worship and a universal cessation of labor on Sunday until the civil government in the time of Constantine came to the help of the church and legalized (and in part even enforced) the observance of the Lord's Day. This may be the reason why the religious observance of it was not expressly enjoined by Christ and the apostles; as for similar reasons there is no prohibition of polygamy and slavery by the letter of the New Testament, although its spirit condemns these abuses, and led to their abolition. We may go further and say that coercive Sunday laws are against the genius and spirit of the Christian religion which appeals to the free will of man, and uses only moral means for its ends. A Christian government may and ought to *protect* the Christian Sabbath against open desecration, but its *positive* observance by attending public worship, must be left to the conscientious conviction of individuals. Religion cannot be forced by law.⁵

The fathers did not regard the Christian Sunday as a continuation of, but as a substitute for, the Jewish Sabbath, and based it not so much on the fourth commandment, and the primitive rest of God in creation, to which the commandment expressly refers, as upon the resurrection of Christ and the apostolic tradition. There was a disposition to disparage the Jewish law in

¹ *Ep.*, c. 15: "We celebrate the eighth day with joy, on which Jesus rose from the dead, and, after having appeared [to his disciples], ascended to heaven." It does not follow from this that Barnabas put the ascension of Christ likewise on a Sunday.

² *Ep. ad Magnes.* c. 8, 9.

³ *Apol.* I. 67.

⁴ "*Stato die*," in his letter to Trajan, *Ep.* X. 97. This "stated day," on which the Christians in Bithynia assembled before day-light to sing hymns to Christ as a God, and to bind themselves by a *sacramentum*, can be no other day but the Lord's Day.

⁵ The American Sunday laws are merely protective, not coercive.

the zeal to prove the independent originality of Christian institutions. The same polemic interest against Judaism ruled in the paschal controversies, and made Christian Easter a moveable feast. Nevertheless, Sunday was always regarded in the ancient church as a divine institution, at least in the secondary sense, as distinct from divine ordinances in the primary sense, which were directly and positively commanded by Christ, as baptism and the Lord's Supper. Regular public worship absolutely requires a stated day of worship.

Ignatius was the first who contrasted Sunday with the Jewish Sabbath as something done away with.¹ So did the author of the so-called Epistle of Barnabas.² Justin Martyr, in controversy with a Jew, says that the pious before Moses pleased God without circumcision and the Sabbath,³ and that Christianity requires not one particular Sabbath, but a perpetual Sabbath.⁴ He assigns as a reason for the selection of the first day for the purposes of Christian worship, because on that day God dispelled the darkness and the chaos, and because Jesus rose from the dead and appeared to his assembled disciples, but makes no allusion to the fourth commandment.⁵ He uses the term "to sabbathize" (*σαββαρίζειν*), only of the Jews, except in the passage just quoted, where he spiritualizes the Jewish law. Dionysius of Corinth mentions Sunday incidentally in a letter to the church of Rome, A. D., 170: "To-day we kept the Lord's

¹ *Ep. ad Magnes.* c. 8, 9 in the shorter Greek recension (wanting in the Syriac edition).

² Cap. 15. This Epistle is altogether too fierce in its polemic against Judaism to be the production of the apostolic Barnabas.

³ *Dial. c. Tryph. Jud.* 19, 27 (Tom. I. P. II. p. 68, 90, in the third ed. of Otto).

⁴ *Dial.* 12 (II. p. 46): *σαββαρίζειν ὑμᾶς* (so Otto reads, but *ἡμᾶς* would be better) *ὁ καινὸς νόμος διὰ παντὸς* (belongs to *σαββαρίζειν*) *ἐθέλει*. Comp. Tertullian, *Contra Jud.* c. 4: "*Unde nos intelligimus magis, sabbatizare nos ab omni opere servili semper debere, et non tantum septimo quoque die, sed per omne tempus.*"

⁵ *Apol.* I. 67 (I. p. 161): *Τὴν δὲ τοῦ ἡλίου ἡμέραν κοινῇ πάντες τὴν συνέλευσιν ποιούμεθα, ἐπειδὴ πρώτη ἐστὶν ἡμέρα, ἐν ᾗ ὁ θεὸς τὸ σκότος καὶ τὴν ὕλην τρέψας, κόσμον ἐποίησε, καὶ Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς ὁ ἡμέτερος σωτὴρ τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀνέστη,* κ. τ. λ.

Day holy, in which we read your letter.”¹ Melito of Sardis wrote a treatise on the Lord’s Day, which is lost.² Irenæus of Lyons, about 170, bears testimony to the celebration of the Lord’s Day,³ but likewise regards the Jewish Sabbath merely as a symbolical and typical ordinance, and says that “Abraham without circumcision and without observance of Sabbaths believed in God,” which proves “the symbolical and temporary character of those ordinances, and their inability to make perfect.”⁴ Tertullian, at the close of the second and beginning of the third century, views the Lord’s Day as figurative of rest from sin and typical of man’s final rest, and says: “We have nothing to do with Sabbaths, new moons or the Jewish festivals, much less with those of the heathen. We have our own solemnities, the Lord’s Day, for instance, and Pentecost. As the heathen confine themselves to their festivals and do not observe ours, let us confine ourselves to ours, and not meddle with those belonging to them.” He thought it wrong to fast on the Lord’s Day, or to pray kneeling during its continuance. “Sunday we give to joy.” But he also considered it Christian duty to abstain from secular care and labor, lest we give place to the devil.⁵ This is the first express evidence of cessation from labor on Sunday among Christians. The habit of standing in prayer on Sunday, which Tertullian regarded as essential to the festive character of the day, and which was sanctioned by an œcumenical council, was afterwards abandoned by the western church.

¹ Eusebius, *H. E.* IV. 23.

² *Περὶ κυριακῆς λόγος.* Euseb. IV. 26.

³ In one of his fragments *περὶ τοῦ πάσχα*, and by his part in the Quartadecimarian controversy, which turned on the yearly celebration of the Christian Passover, but implied universal agreement as to the weekly celebration of the Resurrection. Comp. Hessey, *Bampton Lectures on Sunday*. London, 1860, p. 373.

⁴ *Adv. Hæc.* IV. 16.

⁵ *De Orat.* c. 23: “*Nos vero sicut accepimus, solo die Dominicæ Resurrectionis non ab isto tantum [the bowing of the knee], sed omni anxietatis habitu et officio cavere debemus, diferentes etiam negotia, ne quem diabolo locum demus.*” Other passages of Tertullian, Cyprian, Clement of Alex., and Origen see in Hessey, *l. c.*, pp. 375 ff.

The Alexandrian fathers have essentially the same view, with some fancies of their own concerning the allegorical meaning of the Jewish Sabbath.

We see then that the ante-Nicene church clearly distinguished the Christian Sunday from the Jewish Sabbath, and put it on independent Christian ground. She did not fully appreciate the perpetual obligation of the fourth commandment in its substance as a weekly day of rest, rooted in the physical and moral necessities of man. This is independent of those ceremonial enactments which were intended only for the Jews and abolished by the gospel. But, on the other hand, the church took no secular liberties with the day. On the question of theatrical and other amusements she was decidedly puritanic and ascetic, and denounced them as being inconsistent on *any* day with the profession of a soldier of the cross. She regarded Sunday as a sacred day, as the Day of the Lord, as the weekly commemoration of his resurrection and the pentecostal effusion of the Spirit, and therefore as a day of holy joy and thanksgiving to be celebrated even before the rising sun by prayer, praise, and communion with the risen Lord and Saviour.

Sunday legislation began with Constantine, and belongs to the next period.

The observance of the Sabbath among the Jewish Christians gradually ceased. Yet the Eastern church to this day marks the seventh day of the week (excepting only the Easter Sabbath) by omitting fasting, and by standing in prayer; while the Latin church, in direct opposition to Judaism, made Saturday a fast day. The controversy on this point began as early as the end of the second century.

WEDNESDAY,¹ and especially FRIDAY,² were devoted to the weekly commemoration of the sufferings and death of the Lord, and observed as days of penance, or watch-days,³ and half-fasting (which lasted till three o'clock in the afternoon).⁴

¹ *Feria quarta.*

² *Feria sexta, ἡ παρασκευή.*

³ *Dies stationum of the milites Christi.*

⁴ *Semijejunia.*

§ 61. *The Christian Passover. (Easter).*

- B. HOSPINIANUS: *Festa Christ., h. e. de origine, progressu, ceremoniis et ritibus festorum dierum Christ.* Tig. 1593, and often.
- A. G. PILLWITZ: *Gesch. der heil. Zeiten in der abendländ. Kirche.* Dresden, 1842.
- M. A. NICKEL (R. C.): *Die heil. Zeiten u. Feste nach ihrer Gesch. u. Feier in der kuth. Kirche.* Mainz, 1825-1838. 6 vols.
- F. PIPER: *Gesch. des Osterfestes.* Berl. 1845.
- LISCO: *Das christl. Kirchenjahr.* Berlin, 1840, 4th ed. 1850.
- STRAUSS (court-chaplain of the King of Prussia, d. 1863): *Das evangel. Kirchenjahr.* Berlin, 1850.
- BOBERTAG: *Das evangel. Kirchenjahr.* Breslau 1857.
- H. ALT: *Der Christliche Cultus*, IInd Part: *Das Kirchenjahr*, 2nd ed. Berlin 1860.
- L. HENSLEY: Art. *Easter* in Smith and Cheetham (1875), I. 586-595.
- F. X. KRAUS (R. C.): Art. *Feste* in "*R. Encykl. der Christl. Alterthümer*," vol. I. (1881), pp. 486-502, and the lit. quoted there. The article is written by several authors, the section on Easter and Pentecost by Dr. Funk of Tübingen.

The yearly festivals of this period were Easter, Pentecost, and Epiphany. They form the rudiments of the church year, and keep within the limits of the facts of the New Testament.

Strictly speaking the ante-Nicene church had two annual festive seasons, the *Passover* in commemoration of the suffering of Christ, and the *Pentecoste* in commemoration of the resurrection and exaltation of Christ, beginning with Easter and ending with Pentecost proper. But Passover and Easter were connected in a continuous celebration, combining the deepest sadness with the highest joy, and hence the term *pascha* (in Greek and Latin) is often used in a wider sense for the Easter season, as is the case with the French *pâque* or *pâques*, and the Italian *pasqua*. The Jewish passover also lasted a whole week, and after it began their Pentecost or feast of weeks. The death of Christ became fruitful in the resurrection, and has no redemptive power without it. The commemoration of the death of Christ was called the *pascha staurosimon* or the *Passover* proper.¹ The commemoration of the resurrection was called

¹ Pascha, πάσχα, is not from the verb πάσχειν, to suffer (though often con-

the *pascha anastasimon*, and afterwards *Easter*.¹ The former corresponds to the gloomy Friday, the other to the cheerful Sunday, the sacred days of the week in commemoration of those great events.

The Christian Passover naturally grew out of the Jewish Passover, as the Lord's Day grew out of the Sabbath; the paschal lamb being regarded as a prophetic type of Christ, the Lamb of God slain for our sins (1 Cor. 5: 7, 8), and the deliverance from the bondage of Egypt as a type of the redemption from sin. It is certainly the oldest and most important annual festival of the church, and can be traced back to the first century, or at all events to the middle of the second, when it was universally observed, though with a difference as to the day, and the extent of the fast connected with it. It is based on the view that Christ crucified and risen is the centre of faith. The Jewish Christians would very naturally from the beginning continue to celebrate the legal passover, but in the light of its fulfillment by the sacrifice of Christ, and would dwell chiefly

founded with it and with the Latin *passio* by the Fathers, who were ignorant of Hebrew), but from the Hebrew פסח, and the Chaldee ܡܦܨܚܐ, (comp. the verb ܡܦܨܚ, to pass over, to spare). See Ex. chs. 12 and 13; Lev. 23: 4-9; Num. ch. 9. It has three meanings in the Sept. and the N. T. 1) the paschal festival, called "the feast of unleavened bread," and lasting from the fourteenth to the twentieth of Nisan, in commemoration of the sparing of the first-born and the deliverance of Israel from Egypt; 2) the paschal lamb which was slain between the two evenings (3-5 P. M.) on the 14th of Nisan; 3) the paschal supper on the evening of the same day, which marked the beginning of the 15th of Nisan, or the first day of the festival. In the first sense it corresponds to the Christian Easter-festival, as the type corresponds to the substance. Nevertheless the translation *Easter* for *Passover* in the English version, Acts 12: 4, is a strange anachronism (corrected in the Revision).

¹ Easter is the resurrection festival which follows the Passover proper, but is included in the same festive week. The English *Easter* (Anglo-Saxon *ēaster*, *ēastran*, German *Ostern*) is connected with *East* and sunrise, and is akin to *hōr*, *oriens*, *aurora* (comp. Jac. Grimm's *Deutsche Mythol.* 1835, p. 181 and 349, and Skeat's *Etym. Dict. E. Lang.* sub *Easter*). The comparison of sunrise and the natural spring with the new moral creation in the resurrection of Christ, and the transfer of the celebration of *Ostara*, the old German divinity of the rising, health-bringing light, to the Christian Easter festival, was easy and natural, because all nature is a symbol of spirit, and the heathen myths are dim presentiments and carnal anticipations of Christian truths.

on the aspect of the crucifixion. The Gentile Christians, for whom the Jewish passover had no meaning except through reflection from the cross, would chiefly celebrate the Lord's resurrection as they did on every Sunday of the week. Easter formed at first the beginning of the Christian year, as the month of Nisan, which contained the vernal equinox (corresponding to our March or April), began the sacred year of the Jews. Between the celebration of the death and the resurrection of Christ lay "the great Sabbath,"¹ on which also the Greek church fasted by way of exception; and "the Easter vigils,"² which were kept, with special devotion, by the whole congregation till the break of day, and kept the more scrupulously, as it was generally believed that the Lord's glorious return would occur on this night. The feast of the resurrection, which completed the whole work of redemption, became gradually the most prominent part of the Christian Passover, and identical with Easter. But the crucifixion continued to be celebrated on what is called "Good Friday."³

The paschal feast was preceded by a season of penitence and fasting, which culminated in "the holy week."⁴ This fasting varied in length, in different countries, from one day or forty hours to six weeks;⁵ but after the fifth century, through the

¹ Τὸ μέγα σάββατον, τὸ ἅγιον σάββατον, *Sabbatum magnum*.

² Παννυχίδες, *vigiliae paschæ*, *Easter Eve*. Good Friday and Easter Eve were a continuous fast, which was prolonged till midnight or cock-crow. See Tertull. *Ad uxor.* II. 4; Euseb. *H. E.* VI. 34; *Apost. Const.* V. 18; VII. 23.

³ Various names: πάσχα σταυρώσιμον (as distinct from π. ἀναστάσιμον). ἡμέρα σταυροῦ, παρασκευὴ μεγάλη or ἀγία, *parasceue*, *feria sexta major*, *Good Friday*, *Charfreitag* (from χάρις or from *carus*, dear). But the celebration seems not to have been universal; for Augustin says in his letter *Ad Januar.*, that he did not consider this day holy. See Siegel, *Handbuch der christl. kirchl. Alterthümer*, I. 374 sqq.

⁴ From Palm Sunday to Easter Eve. Ἑβδομάς μεγάλη, or τοῦ πάσχα, *hebdomas magna*, *hebdomas nigra* (in opposition to *dominica in albis*), *hebdomas crucis*, *Charwoche*.

⁵ Irenæus, in his letter to Victor of Rome (Euseb. V. 24): "Not only is the dispute respecting the day, but also respecting the manner of fasting. For some think that they ought to fast only one day, some two, some more days; some compute their day as consisting of forty hours night and day; and

influence of Rome, it was universally fixed at forty days,¹ with reference to the forty days' fasting of Christ in the wilderness and the Old Testament types of that event (the fasting of Moses and Elijah).²

§ 62. *The Paschal Controversies.*

I. The sources for the paschal controversies:

Fragments from MELITO, APOLLINARIUS, POLYCRATES, CLEMENT of Alexandria, IRENÆUS, and HIPPOLYTUS, preserved in EUSEB. *H. E.* IV. 3, 26; V. 23-25; VI. 13; the CHRONICON PASCH. I. 12 sqq., a passage in the *Philosophumena* of HIPPOLYTUS, Lib. VIII. cap. 18 (p. 435, ed. Duncker & Schneidewin, 1859), a fragment from EUSEBIUS in Angelo Mai's *Nova P. P. Bibl.* T. IV. 209-216, and the *Heresies* of EPIPHANIUS, *Hecr.* LXX. 1-3; LXX. 9.

II. Recent works, occasioned mostly by the Johannean controversy:

WEITZEL: *Die Christl. Passafeyer der drei ersten Jahrh.* Pforzheim, 1848 (and in the "Studien und Kritiken," 1848, No. 4, against Baur).

BAUR: *Das Christenthum der 3 ersten Jahrh.* (1853). Tüb. 3rd ed. 1863, pp. 156-169. And several controversial essays against Steitz.

HILGENFELD: *Der Paschastreit und das Evang. Johannis* (in "Theol. Jahrbücher" for 1849); *Noch ein Wort über den Passahstreit* (ibid. 1858); and *Der Paschastreit der alten Kirche nach seiner Bedeutung für die Kirchengesch. und für die Evangelienforschung urkundlich dargestellt.* Halle 1860 (410 pages).

STEITZ: Several essays on the subject, mostly against Baur, in the "Studien u. Kritiken," 1856, 1857, and 1859; in the "Theol. Jahrbücher," 1857, and art. *Passah* in "Herzog's Encycl." vol. XII. (1859), p. 149 sqq., revised in the new ed., by Wagenmann, XI. 270 sqq.

WILLIAM MILLIGAN: *The Easter Controversies of the second century in their relation to the Gospel of St. John*, in the "Contemporary Review" for Sept. 1867 (p. 101-118).

EMIL SCHÜRER: *De Controversiis paschalibus sec. post Chr. sæc. exortis.* Lips. 1869. By the same: *Die Paschastreitigkeiten des 2ten Jahrh.,*

this diversity existing among those that observe it, is not a matter that has just sprung up in our times, but long ago among those before us, who perhaps not having ruled with sufficient strictness, established the practice that arose from their simplicity and ignorance."

¹ *Quadragesima.*

² Matt. 4: 2; comp. Ex. 34: 28; 1 Kings 19: 8.
Vol. II. 14.

in Kahn's "Zeitschrift für hist. Theol." 1870, pp. 182-284. Very full and able.

C. JOS. VON HEFELE (R. C.): *Conciliengeschichte*, I. 86-101 (second ed. Freib. 1873; with some important changes).

ABBÉ DUCHESNE: *La question de la Pâque*, in "Revue des questions historiques," July 1880.

RENAN: *L'église chrét.* 445-451; and *M. Aurèle*, 194-206 (*la question de la Pâque*).

Respecting the time of the Christian Passover and of the fast connected with it, there was a difference of observance which created violent controversies in the ancient church, and almost as violent controversies in the modern schools of theology in connection with the questions of the primacy of Rome, and the genuineness of John's Gospel.¹

The paschal controversies of the ante-Nicene age are a very complicated chapter in ancient church-history, and are not yet sufficiently cleared up. They were purely ritualistic and disciplinary, and involved no dogma; and yet they threatened to split the churches; both parties laying too much stress on external uniformity. Indirectly, however, they involved the question of the independence of Christianity on Judaism.²

Let us first consider the difference of observance or the subject of controversy.

The Christians of Asia Minor, following the Jewish chronology, and appealing to the authority of the apostles John and Philip, celebrated the Christian Passover uniformly on the fourteenth of Nisan (which might fall on any of the seven days of the week) by a solemn fast; they fixed the close of the fast accordingly, and seem to have partaken on the evening of this day, as the close of the fast, not indeed of the Jewish paschal lamb, as has sometimes been supposed,³ but of the commu-

¹ See note at the end of the section.

² So Renan regards the controversy, *Marc-Aurèle*, p. 194, as a conflict between two kinds of Christianity, "*le christianisme qui s'envisageait comme une suite du judaïsme*," and "*le christianisme qui s'envisageait comme la destruction du judaïsme*."

³ By Mosheim (*De rebus christ. ante Const. M. Com.*, p. 435 sqq.) and Neander (in the first edition of his *Church Hist.*, I. 518, but not in the second I. 512,

nion and love-feast, as the Christian passover and the festival of the redemption completed by the death of Christ.¹ The communion on the evening of the 14th (or, according to the Jewish mode of reckoning, the day from sunset to sunset, on the beginning of the 15th) of Nisan was in memory of the last paschal supper of Christ. This observance did not exclude the idea that Christ died as the true paschal Lamb. For we find among the fathers both this idea and the other that Christ ate the regular Jewish passover with his disciples, which took place on the 14th.² From the day of observance the Asiatic Christians were afterwards called *Quartadecimanians*.³ Hippolytus of Rome speaks of them contemptuously as a sect of contentious and ignorant persons, who maintain that "the pascha should be observed on the fourteenth day of the first month according to the law, no matter on what day of the week it might fall."⁴ Nevertheless the Quartadecimanian observance was probably the oldest and in accordance with the Synoptic tradition of the last Passover of our Lord, which it commemorated.⁵

Germ. ed., I. 298 in Torrey's translation). There is no trace of such a Jewish custom on the part of the Quartadecimani. This is admitted by Hefele (I. 87), who formerly held to three parties in this controversy; but there were only two.

¹ The celebration of the eucharist is not expressly mentioned by Eusebius, but may be inferred. He says (*H. E.* V. 23): "The churches of all Asia, guided by older tradition (ὡς ἐκ παραδόσεως ἀρχαιοτέρας, older than that of Rome), thought that they were bound to keep the *fourteenth day* of the moon, on (or at the time of) the feast of the Saviour's Passover (ἐν τῇ τῷ σωτηρίου πύχῃ ἐπορῆς), that day on which the Jews were commanded to kill the paschal lamb; it being incumbent on them by all means to regulate the close of the fast by that day on whatever day of the week it might happen to fall."

² Justin, *M. Dial.* c. 111; Iren. *Adv. Hæc.* II. 22, 3; Tert. *De Bapt.* 19; Origen, *In Matth.*; Epiph. *Hæc.* XLII. St. Paul first declared Christ to be our passover (1 Cor. 5: 7), and yet his companion Luke, with whom his own account of the institution of the Lord's Supper agrees, represents Christ's passover meal as taking place on the 14th.

³ The δ' = 14, *quarta decima*. See Ex. 12: 6; Lev. 23: 5, where this day is prescribed for the celebration of the Passover. Hence *Τεσσαρεκαδεκαίτηρας*, *Quartadecimani*, more correctly *Quartadecimani*. This sectarian name occurs in the canons of the councils of Laodicea, 364, Constantinople, 381, etc.

⁴ *Philosoph.* or *Refutat.* of all *Hæres.* VIII. 18.

⁵ So also Renan regards it, *L'ég. chrét.*, p. 445 sq., but he brings it, like

The Roman church, on the contrary, likewise appealing to early custom, celebrated the death of Jesus always on a Friday, the day of the week on which it actually occurred, and his resurrection always on a Sunday after the March full moon, and extended the paschal fast to the latter day; considering it improper to terminate the fast at an earlier date, and to celebrate the communion before the festival of the resurrection. Nearly all the other churches agreed with the Roman in this observance, and laid the main stress on the resurrection-festival on Sunday. This Roman practice created an entire holy week of solemn fasting and commemoration of the Lord's passion, while the Asiatic practice ended the fast on the 14th of Nisan, which may fall sometimes several days before Sunday.

Hence a spectacle shocking to the catholic sense of ritualistic propriety and uniformity was frequently presented to the world, that one part of Christendom was fasting and mourning over the death of our Saviour, while the other part rejoiced in the glory of the resurrection. We cannot be surprised that controversy arose, and earnest efforts were made to harmonize the opposing sections of Christendom in the public celebration of the fundamental facts of the Christian salvation and of the most sacred season of the church-year.

The gist of the paschal controversy was, whether the Jewish paschal-day (be it a Friday or not), or the Christian Sunday, should control the idea and time of the entire festival. The Johannean practice of Asia represented here the spirit of adhesion to historical precedent, and had the advantage of an immovable Easter, without being Judaizing in anything but the observance of a fixed day of the month. The Roman custom represented the principle of freedom and discretionary change, and the independence of the Christian festival system. Dogmatically stated, the difference would be, that in the former case the chief stress was laid on the Lord's death; in the latter, on his resurrection. But the leading interest of the question for

Baur, in conflict with the chronology of the fourth Gospel. He traces the Roman custom from the pontificate of Xystus and Telesphorus, A. D. 120.

the early Church was not the astronomical, nor the dogmatical, but the ritualistic. The main object was to secure uniformity of observance, and to assert the originality of the Christian festive cycle, and its independence of Judaism; for both reasons the Roman usage at last triumphed even in the East. Hence Easter became a movable festival whose date varies from the end of March to the latter part of April.

The history of the controversy divides itself into three acts.

1. The difference came into discussion first on a visit of Polycarp, bishop of Smyrna, to Anicetus, bishop of Rome, between A.D. 150 and 155.¹ It was not settled; yet the two bishops parted in peace, after the latter had charged his venerable guest to celebrate the holy communion in his church. We have a brief, but interesting account of this dispute by Irenæus, a pupil of Polycarp, which is as follows:²

"When the blessed Polycarp sojourned at Rome in the days of Anicetus, and they had some little difference of opinion likewise with regard to other points,³ they forthwith came to a peaceable understanding on this head [the observance of Easter], having no love for mutual disputes. For neither could Anicetus persuade Polycarp *not to observe*,⁴ inasmuch as he [Pol.] had always *observed* with John, the disciple of our Lord, and the other apostles, with whom he had associated; nor did Polycarp persuade Anicetus to *observe* (τηρεῖν), who said that he was bound to maintain the custom of the presbyters (= bishops) before him. These things being so, they communed together; and in the church Anicetus yielded to Polycarp, out of respect no doubt, the celebration of the eucharist (τὴν εὐχαριστίαν), and they separated from each other in peace, all the church being at peace, both those that observed and those that did not observe [the fourteenth of Nisan], maintaining peace."

This letter proves that the Christians of the days of Polycarp

¹ Renan (*l. c.*, p. 447) conjectures that Irenæus and Florinus accompanied Polycarp on that journey to Rome. Neander and others give a wrong date, 162. Polycarp died in 155, see § 19, p. 51. The pontificate of Anicetus began in 154 or before.

² In a fragment of a letter to the Roman bishop Victor, preserved by Eusebius, *H. E. V. c.* 24 (ed. Heinichen, I. 253).

³ καὶ περὶ ἄλλων τινῶν μικρὰ σχόντες (or ἔχοντες) πρὸς ἀλλήλους.

⁴ μὴ τηρεῖν, i. e. the fourteenth of Nisan, as appears from the connection and from ch. 23. The τηρεῖν consisted mainly in fasting, and probably also the celebration of the eucharist in the evening. It was a technical term for legal observances, comp. John 9: 16.

knew how to keep the unity of the Spirit without uniformity of rites and ceremonies. "The very difference in our fasting," says Irenæus in the same letter, "establishes the unanimity in our faith."

2. A few years afterwards, about A. D. 170, the controversy broke out in Laodicea, but was confined to Asia, where a difference had arisen either among the Quartadecimanians themselves, or rather among these and the adherents of the Western observance. The accounts on this interimistic sectional dispute are incomplete and obscure. Eusebius merely mentions that at that time Melito of Sardis wrote two works on the Passover.¹ But these are lost, as also that of Clement of Alexandria on the same topic.² Our chief source of information is Claudius Apollinarius (Apollinaris),³ bishop of Hierapolis, in Phrygia, in two fragments of his writings upon the subject, which have been preserved in the *Chronicon Paschale*.⁴ These are as follows:

"There are some now who, from ignorance, love to raise strife about these things, being guilty in this of a pardonable offence; for ignorance does not so much deserve blame as need instruction. And they say that on the fourteenth [of Nisan] the Lord ate the paschal lamb (τὸ πρόβατον ἔφαγε) with his disciples, but that He himself suffered on the great day of unleavened bread⁵ [i. e. the fifteenth of Nisan]; and they interpret Matthew as favoring their view, from which it appears that their view does not agree with the law,⁶ and that the Gospels seem, according to them, to be at variance."⁷

¹ H. E. IV. 26.

² With the exception of a few fragments in the *Chronicon Paschale*.

³ Eusebius spells his name Ἀπολινάριος (IV. 21 and 26, 27, see Heinichen's ed.), and so do Photius, and the Chron. Paschale in most MSS. But the Latins spell his name *Apollinaris*. He lived under Marcus Aurelius (161-180), was apologist and opponent of Montanism which flourished especially in Phrygia, and must not be confounded with one of the two Apollinaris or Apollinaria, father and son, of Laodicea in Syria, who flourished in the fourth century.

⁴ Ed. Dindorf I. 13; in Routh's *Reliquiæ Sacre* I. p. 160. Quoted and discussed by Milligan, *l. c.* p. 109 sq.

⁵ If this is the genuine Quartadecimanian view, it proves conclusively that it agreed with the Synoptic chronology as to the day of Christ's death, and that Weitzel and Steitz are wrong on this point.

⁶ Since according to the view of Apollinarius, Christ as the true fulfillment of the law, must have died on the 14th, the day of the legal passover.

⁷ This seems to be the meaning of στασιάζειν δοκεῖ, κατ' αὐτοὺς, τὰ εὐαγγέλια.

"*The fourteenth is the true Passover of the Lord, the great sacrifice, the Son of God¹ in the place of the lamb . . . who was lifted up upon the horns of the unicorn . . . and who was buried on the day of the Passover, the stone having been placed upon his tomb.*"

Here Apolinarius evidently protests against the Quartadecimarian practice, yet simply as one arising from ignorance, and not as a blameworthy heresy. He opposes it as a chronological and exegetical mistake, and seems to hold that the fourteenth, and not the fifteenth, is the great day of the death of Christ as the true Lamb of God, on the false assumption that this truth depends upon the chronological coincidence of the crucifixion and the Jewish passover. But the question arises: Did he protest from the Western and Roman standpoint which had many advocates in the East,² or as a Quartadecimarian?³ In the latter case we would be obliged to distinguish two parties of Quartadecimarians, the orthodox or catholic Quartadecimarians, who simply observed the 14th Nisan by fasting and the evening communion, and a smaller faction of heretical and schismatic Quartadecimarians, who adopted the Jewish practice of eating a paschal lamb on that day in commemoration of the Saviour's last passover. But there is no evidence for this distinction in the above or other passages. Such a grossly Judaizing party would have been treated with more severity by a catholic bishop. Even the Jews could no more eat of the paschal lamb after the destruction of the temple in which it had to be slain. There is no trace of such a party in Irenæus, Hippolytus⁴ and Eusebius who speak only of one class of Quartadecimarians.⁵

inter se pugnare, etc. On the assumption namely that John fixes the death of Christ on the fourteenth of Nisan, which, however, is a point in dispute. The opponents who started from the chronology of the Synoptists, could retort this objection.

¹ The same argument is urged in the fragments of Hippolytus in the *Chronicon Paschale*. But that Jesus was the true Paschal Lamb is a doctrine in which all the churches were agreed.

² So Baur (p. 163 sq.) and the Tübingen School rightly maintain.

³ As Weitzel, Steitz, and Lechler assume in opposition to Baur.

⁴ In the passage of the *Philosoph* above quoted, and in the fragments of the *Paschal Chronicle*.

⁵ Epiphanius, it is true, distinguishes different opinions among the Quarta-

Hence we conclude that Apolinarius protests against the whole Quartadecimarian practice, although very mildly and charitably. The Laodicean controversy was a stage in the same controversy which was previously discussed by Polycarp and Anicetus in Christian charity, and was soon agitated again by Polycrates and Victor with hierarchical and intolerant violence.

3. Much more important and vehement was the third stage of the controversy between 190 and 194, which extended over the whole church, and occasioned many synods and synodical letters.¹ The Roman bishop Victor, a very different man from his predecessor Anicetus, required the Asiatics, in an imperious tone, to abandon their Quartadecimarian practice. Against this Polycrates, bishop of Ephesus, solemnly protested in the name of a synod held by him, and appealed to an imposing array of authorities for their primitive custom. Eusebius has preserved his letter, which is quite characteristic.

"We," wrote the Ephesian bishop to the Roman pope and his church, "We observe the genuine day; neither adding thereto nor taking therefrom. For in Asia great lights² have fallen asleep, which shall rise again in the day of the Lord's appearing, in which he will come with glory from heaven, and will raise up all the saints: Philip, one of the twelve apostles, who sleeps in Hierapolis, and his two aged virgin daughters; his other daughter, also, who having lived under the influence of the Holy Spirit, now likewise rests in Ephesus; moreover, John, who rested upon the bosom of our Lord,³ who was also a priest, and bore the sacerdotal plate,⁴ both a martyr and teacher; he is buried in Ephesus. Also Polycarp of Smyrna, both bishop and martyr, and Thraseas, both bishop and martyr of Eumenia, who sleeps in Smyrna. Why should I mention Sagaris, bishop and martyr, who sleeps in Laodicea; moreover, the blessed Papirius, and Melito, the eunuch

decimarians (*Hæc. L. cap. 1-3 Contra Quartadecimarios*), but he makes no mention of the practice of eating a Paschal lamb, or of any difference in this chronology of the death of Christ.

¹ Eusebius, *H. E.*, V. 23-25.

² Μεγάλα στοιχεία in the sense of stars used *Ep. ad Diog. 7*; Justin *Dial. c. 23* (τὰ οὐράνια στοιχεία).

³ ὁ ἐπὶ τὸ στήθος τοῦ κυρίου ἀναπauών. Comp. John 13: 25; 21: 20. This designation, as Renan admits (*Marc-Aurèle*, p. 196, note 2), implies that Polycrates acknowledged the Gospel of John as genuine.

⁴ τὸ πέταλον. On this singular expression, which is probably figurative for priestly holiness, see vol. 1. p. 431, note 1.

[celibate], who lived altogether under the influence of the Holy Spirit, who now rests in Sardis, awaiting the episcopate from heaven, in which he shall rise from the dead. All these *observed the fourteenth day of the passover according to the gospel*, deviating in no respect, but following the rule of faith.

"Moreover, I, Polycrates, who am the least of you, according to the tradition of my relatives, some of whom I have followed. For seven of my relatives were bishops, and I am the eighth; and my relatives always observed the day when the people of the Jews, threw away the leaven. I, therefore, brethren, am now sixty-five years in the Lord, who having conferred with the brethren throughout the world, and having studied the whole of the Sacred Scriptures, am not at all alarmed at those things with which I am threatened, to intimidate me. For they who are greater than I have said, 'we ought to obey God rather than men.' . . . I could also mention the bishops that were present, whom you requested me to summon, and whom I did call; whose names would present a great number, but who seeing my slender body consented to my epistle, well knowing that I did not wear my gray hairs for nought, but that I did at all times regulate my life in the Lord Jesus."¹

Victor turned a deaf ear to this remonstrance, branded the Asiatics as heretics, and threatened to excommunicate them.

But many of the Eastern bishops, and even Irenæus, in the name of the Gallic Christians, though he agreed with Victor on the disputed point, earnestly reprovèd him for such arrogance, and reminded him of the more Christian and brotherly conduct of his predecessors Anicetus, Pius, Hyginus, Telesphorus, and Xystus, who sent the eucharist to their dissenting brethren. He dwelt especially on the fraternal conduct of Anicetus to Polycarp. Irenæus proved himself on this occasion, as Eusebius remarks, a true peacemaker, and his vigorous protest seems to have prevented the schism.

We have from the same Irenæus another utterance on this controversy,² saying: "The apostles have ordered that we should 'judge no one in meat or in drink, or in respect to a feast-day or a new moon or a sabbath day' (Col. 2: 16). Whence then these wars? Whence these schisms? We keep the feasts, but in the leaven of malice by tearing the church of

¹ Euseb. V. 24 (ed. Heinichen, I. p. 250 sqq.).

² In the third Fragment discovered by Pfaff, probably from his book against Blastus. See *Opera*, ad. Stieren, I. 887.

God and observing what is outward, in order to reject what is better, faith and charity. That such feasts and fasts are displeasing to the Lord, we have heard from the Prophets." A truly evangelical sentiment from one who echoes the teaching of St. John and his last words: "Children, love one another."

4. In the course of the third century the Roman practice gained ground everywhere in the East, and, to anticipate the result, was established by the council of Nicæa in 325 as the law of the whole church. This council considered it unbecoming in Christians to follow the usage of the unbelieving, hostile Jews, and ordained that Easter should always be celebrated on the first Sunday after the first full moon succeeding the vernal equinox (March 21), and always after the Jewish passover.¹ If the full moon occurs on a Sunday, Easter-day is the Sunday after. By this arrangement Easter may take place as early as March 22, or as late as April 25.

Henceforth the Quartadecimanians were universally regarded as heretics, and were punished as such. The Synod of Antioch, 341, excommunicated them. The Montanists and Novatians were also charged with the Quartadecimanian observance. The last traces of it disappeared in the sixth century.

But the desired uniformity in the observance of Easter was still hindered by differences in reckoning the Easter Sunday according to the course of the moon and the vernal equinox, which the Alexandrians fixed on the 21st of March, and the Romans on the 18th; so that in the year 387, for example, the Romans kept Easter on the 21st of March, and the Alexandrians not till the 25th of April. In the West also the computation changed

¹ In the Synodical letter which the fathers of Nicæa addressed to the churches of Egypt, Libya, and Pentapolis (Socrates, *H. E.* I. c. 9), it is said: "We have also gratifying intelligence to communicate to you relating to the unity of judgment on the subject of the most holy feast of Easter; . . . that all the brethren in the East who have heretofore kept this festival at the same time as the Jews, will henceforth conform to the Romans and to us, and to all who from the earliest time have observed our period of celebrating Easter." Eusebius reports (*Vita Const.* III. 19) that especially the province of Asia acknowledged the decree. He thinks that only God and the emperor Constantine could remove this evil of two conflicting celebrations of Easter.

and caused a renewal of the Easter controversy in the sixth and seventh centuries. The old British, Irish and Scotch Christians, and the Irish missionaries on the Continent adhered to the older cycle of eighty-four years in opposition to the later Dionysian or Roman cycle of ninety-five years, and hence were styled "Quartadecimanians" by their Anglo-Saxon and Roman opponents, though unjustly; for they celebrated Easter always on a *Sunday* between the 14th and the 20th of the month (the Romans between the 15th and 21st). The Roman practice triumphed. But Rome again changed the calendar under Gregory XIII. (A. D. 1583). Hence even to this day the Oriental churches who hold to the Julian and reject the Gregorian calendar, differ from the Occidental Christians in the time of the observance of Easter.

All these useless ritualistic disputes might have been avoided if, with some modification of the old Asiatic practice as to the close of the fast, Easter, like Christmas, had been made an immovable feast at least as regards the week, if not the day, of its observance.

NOTE.

The bearing of this controversy on the Johannean origin of the fourth Gospel has been greatly overrated by the negative critics of the Tübingen School. Dr. Baur, Schwegler, Hilgenfeld, Straus (*Leben Jesu*, new ed. 1864, p. 76 sq.), Schenkel, Scholten, Samuel Davidson, Renan (*Marc-Aurèle*, p. 196), use it as a fatal objection to the Johannean authorship. Their argument is this: "The Asiatic practice rested on the belief that Jesus ate the Jewish Passover with his disciples on the evening of the 14th of Nisan, and died on the 15th; this belief is incompatible with the fourth Gospel, which puts the death of Jesus, as the true Paschal Lamb, on the 14th of Nisan, just before the regular Jewish Passover; therefore the fourth Gospel cannot have existed when the Easter controversy first broke out about A. D. 160; or, at all events, it cannot be the work of John to whom the Asiatic Christians so confidently appealed for their paschal observance."

But leaving out of view the early testimonies for the authenticity of John, which reach back to the first quarter of the second century, the minor premise is wrong, and hence the conclusion falls. A closer examination of the relevant passages of John leads to the result that he agrees with the Synoptic account, which puts the last Supper on the 14th, and

the crucifixion on the 15th of Nisan. (Comp. on this chronological difficulty vol. I. 133 sqq.; and the authorities quoted there, especially John Lightfoot, Wieseler, Robinson, Lange, Kirchner, and McClellan.)

Weitzel, Steitz, and Wagenmann deny the inference of the Tübingen School by disputing the major premise, and argue that the Asiatic observance (in agreement with the Tübingen school and their own interpretation of John's chronology) implies that Christ died as the true paschal lamb on the 14th, and not on the 15th of Nisan. To this view we object: 1) It conflicts with the extract from Apolinarius in the *Chronicon Paschale* as given p. 214. 2) There is no contradiction between the idea that Christ died as the true paschal lamb, and the Synoptic chronology; for the former was taught by Paul (1 Cor. 5: 7), who was quoted for the Roman practice, and both were held by the fathers; the coincidence in the time being subordinate to the fact. 3) A contradiction in the primitive tradition of Christ's death is extremely improbable, and it is much easier to conform the Johannean chronology to the Synoptic than *vice versa*.

It seems to me that the Asiatic observance of the 14th of Nisan was in commemoration of the last passover of the Lord, and this of necessity implied also a commemoration of his death, like every celebration of the Lord's Supper. In any case, however, these ancient paschal controversies did not hinge on the chronological question or the true date of Christ's death at all, but on the week-day and the manner of its *annual observance*. The question was whether the paschal communion should be celebrated on the 14th of Nisan, or on the Sunday of the resurrection festival, without regard to the Jewish chronology.

§ 63. *Pentecost.*

Easter was followed by the festival of PENTECOST.¹ It rested on the Jewish feast of harvest. It was universally observed, as early as the second century, in commemoration of the appearances and heavenly exaltation of the risen Lord, and had throughout a joyous character. It lasted through fifty days—*Quinquagesima*—which were celebrated as a continuous Sunday, by daily communion, the standing posture in prayer, and the absence of all fasting. Tertullian says that all the festivals of the heathen put together will not make up the one Pentecost of

¹ Πεντηκοστή (*hētpa*), *Quinquagesima*, is the fiftieth day after the Passover Sabbath, see vol. I. 225 sqq. It is used by the fathers in a wider sense for the whole period of fifty days, from Easter to Whitsunday, and in a narrower sense for the single festival of Whitsunday.

the Christians.¹ During that period the Acts of the Apostles were read in the public service (and are read to this day in the Greek church).

Subsequently the celebration was limited to the fortieth day as the feast of the Ascension, and the fiftieth day, or Pentecost proper (Whitsunday) as the feast of the outpouring of the Holy Spirit and the birthday of the Christian Church. In this restricted sense Pentecost closed the cycle of our Lord's festivals (the *semestre Domini*), among which it held the third place (after Easter and Christmas).² It was also a favorite time for baptism, especially the vigil of the festival.

§ 64. *The Epiphany.*

The feast of the EPIPHANY is of later origin.³ It spread from the East towards the West, but here, even in the fourth century, it was resisted by such parties as the Donatists, and condemned as an oriental innovation. It was, in general, the feast of the appearance of Christ in the flesh, and particularly of the manifestation of his Messiahship by his baptism in the Jordan, the festival at once of his birth and his baptism. It was usually kept on the 6th of January. When the East adopted from the West the Christmas festival, Epiphany was restricted to the celebration of the baptism of Christ, and made one of the three great reasons for the administration of baptism.

In the West it was afterwards made a collective festival of several events in the life of Jesus, as the adoration of the Magi, the first miracle of Cana, and sometimes the feeding of the five

¹ *De Idol.* c. 12; comp. *De Bapt.* c. 19; *Const. Apost.* V. 20.

² In this sense *Pentecoste* is first used by the Council of Elvira (Granada) A. D. 306, can. 43. The week following was afterwards called *Hebdomadas Spiritus Sancti*.

³ ἡ ἐπιφάνεια, τὰ ἐπιφάνια, ἡ θεοφάνεια, ἡμέρα τῶν φώτων: *Epiphania*, *Theophania*, *Dies Luminum*, *Festum Trium Regum*, etc. The feast is first mentioned by Clement of Alex. as the annual commemoration of the baptism of Christ by the Gnostic sect of the Basilidians (*Strom.* I. 21). Neander supposes that they derived it from the Jewish Christians in Palestine. Chrysostom often alludes to it.

⁴ Augustin, *Serm.* 202, § 2.

thousand. It became more particularly the "feast of the three kings," that is, the wise men from the East, and was placed in special connexion with the mission to the heathen. The legend of the three kings (Caspar, Melchior, Baltazar) grew up gradually from the recorded gifts, gold, frankincense, and myrrh, which the Magi offered to the new-born King of the Jews.¹

Of the CHRISTMAS festival there is no clear trace before the fourth century; partly because the feast of the Epiphany in a measure held the place of it; partly because the birth of Christ, the date of which, at any rate, was uncertain, was less prominent in the Christian mind than his death and resurrection. It was of Western (Roman) origin, and found its way to the East after the middle of the fourth century; for Chrysostom, in a Homily, which was probably preached Dec. 25, 386, speaks of the celebration of the separate day of the Nativity as having been recently introduced in Antioch.

§ 65. *The Order of Public Worship.*

The earliest description of the Christian worship is given us by a heathen, the younger Pliny, A. D. 109, in his well-known letter to Trajan, which embodies the result of his judicial investigations in Bithynia.² According to this, the Christians assembled on an appointed day (Sunday) at sunrise, sang responsively a song to Christ as to God,³ and then pledged themselves by an oath (*sacramentum*) not to do any evil work, to commit no theft, robbery, nor adultery, not to break their word, nor sacrifice property intrusted to them. Afterwards (at evening) they assembled again, to eat ordinary and innocent food (the agape).

This account of a Roman official then bears witness to the

¹ Matt. 2: 11. The first indistinct trace, perhaps, is in Tertullian, *Adv. Jud.* c. 9: *Nam et Magos reges fere habuit Oriens.*" The apocryphal Gospels of the infancy give us no fiction on that point.

² Comp. § 17, p. 46, and G. Boissier, *De l'authenticité de la lettre de Pline au sujet des Chrétiens*, in the "Revue Archéol.," 1876, p. 114-125.

³ "Quod essent soliti stato die ante lucem convenire, carmenque Christo, quasi Deo, dicere secum invicem."

primitive observance of Sunday, the separation of the love-feast from the morning worship (with the communion), and the worship of Christ as God in song.

Justin Martyr, at the close of his larger Apology,¹ describes the public worship more particularly, as it was conducted about the year 140. After giving a full account of baptism and the holy Supper, to which we shall refer again, he continues :

"On Sunday² a meeting of all, who live in the cities and villages, is held, and a section from the Memoirs of the Apostles (the Gospels) and the writings of the Prophets (the Old Testament) is read, as long as the time permits.³ When the reader has finished, the president,⁴ in a discourse, gives an exhortation⁵ to the imitation of these noble things. After this we all rise in common prayer.⁶ At the close of the prayer, as we have before described,⁷ bread and wine with water are brought. The president offers prayer and thanks for them, according to the power given him,⁸ and the congregation responds the Amen. Then the consecrated elements are distributed to each one, and partaken, and are carried by the deacons to the houses of the absent. The wealthy and the willing then give contributions according to their free will, and this collection is deposited with the president, who therewith supplies orphans and widows, poor

¹ *Apol. I. c. 65-67 (Opera, ed. Otto III. Tom. I. P. I. 177-188).* The passage quoted is from ch. 67.

² τῇ τοῦ Ἑλλίου λεγομένη ἡμέρᾳ.

³ Μέχρις ἐγχωρεῖ.

⁴ Ὁ προεστώς, the presiding presbyter or bishop.

⁵ Τὴν νουθεσίαν καὶ παράκλησιν.

⁶ Εὐχὰς πέμπομεν, *preces emitimus*.

⁷ Chap. 65.

⁸ Ὅση δύναμις αὐτῷ, that is probably *pro viribus, quantum potest*; or like Tertullian's "*de pectore*" and "*ex proprio ingenio*." Others translate wrongly: *totis viribus*, with all his might, or with a clear, loud voice. Comp. Otto, *l. c.* 187. The passages, however, in no case contain any *opposition* to forms of prayer which were certainly in use already at that time, and familiar without book to every worshipper; above all the Lord's Prayer. The whole liturgical literature of the fourth and fifth centuries presupposes a much older liturgical tradition. The prayers in the eighth book of the Apost. Constitutions are probably among the oldest portions of the work.

and needy, prisoners and strangers, and takes care of all who are in want. We assemble in common on Sunday, because this is the first day, on which God created the world and the light, and because Jesus Christ our Saviour on the same day rose from the dead and appeared to his disciples."

Here, reading of the Scriptures, preaching (and that as an episcopal function), prayer, and communion, plainly appear as the regular parts of the Sunday worship; all descending, no doubt, from the apostolic age. Song is not expressly mentioned here, but elsewhere.¹ The communion is not yet clearly separated from the other parts of worship. But this was done towards the end of the second century.

The same parts of worship are mentioned in different places by Tertullian.²

The eighth book of the Apostolical Constitutions contains already an elaborate service with sundry liturgical prayers.³

§ 66. *Parts of Worship.*

1. The READING OF SCRIPTURE LESSONS from the Old Testament with practical application and exhortation passed from the Jewish synagogue to the Christian church. The lessons from the New Testament came prominently into use as the Gospels and Epistles took the place of the oral instruction of the apostolic age. The reading of the Gospels is expressly mentioned by Justin Martyr, and the Apostolical Constitutions add the Epistles and the Acts.⁴ During the Pentecostal season the Acts of the Apostles furnished the lessons. But there was no uniform system of selection before the Nicene age. Besides the canonical Scripture, post-apostolic writings, as the Epistle of Clement of Rome, the Epistle of Barnabas, and the Pastor of Hermas, were read in some congregations, and are found in

¹ Cap. 13. Justin himself wrote a book entitled *ψαλμικ.*

² See the passages quoted by Otto, l. c. 184 sq.

³ B. VIII. 3 sqq. Also VII. 33 sqq. See translation in the "Ante-Nicene Library," vol. XVII., P. II. 191 sqq. and 212 sqq.

⁴ BK. VII. 5.

important MSS. of the New Testament.¹ The Acts of Martyre were also read on the anniversary of their martyrdom.

2. The SERMON² was a familiar exposition of Scripture and exhortation to repentance and a holy life, and gradually assumed in the Greek church an artistic, rhetorical character. Preaching was at first free to every member who had the gift of public speaking, but was gradually confined as an exclusive privilege of the clergy, and especially the bishop. Origen was called upon to preach before his ordination, but this was even then rather an exception. The oldest known homily, now recovered in full (1875), is from an unknown Greek or Roman author of the middle of the second century, probably before A.D. 140 (formerly ascribed to Clement of Rome). He addresses the hearers as "brothers" and "sisters," and read from manuscript.³ The homily has no literary value, and betrays confusion and intellectual poverty, but is inspired by moral earnestness and triumphant faith. It closes with this doxology: "To the only God invisible, the Father of truth, who sent forth unto us the Saviour and Prince of immortality, through whom also He made manifest unto us the truth and the heavenly life, to Him be the glory forever and ever. Amen."⁴

3. PRAYER. This essential part of all worship passed like-

¹ The Ep. of Clemens in the Codex Alexandrinus (A); Barnabas and Hermas in the Cod. Sinaiticus.

² Ὁμιλία, λόγος, *sermo, tractatus*.

³ § 19, ἀναγινώσκω ὑμῖν. But the homily may have first been delivered extempore, and taken down by short-hand writers (ῥαχυνγράφοι, *notarii*). See Lightfoot, p. 306.

⁴ Ed. by Bryennios (1875), and in the *Patr. Apost.* ed. by de Gebhardt and Harnack, I. 111-143. A good translation by Lightfoot, *S. Clement of Rome*, Appendix, 380-390. Lightfoot says: "If the first Epistle of Clement is the earliest foreshadowing of a Christian liturgy, the so called Second Epistle is the first example of a Christian homily." He thinks that the author was a bishop; Harnack, that he was a layman, as he seems to distinguish himself from the presbyters. Lightfoot assigns him to Corinth, and explains in this way the fact that the homily was bound up with the letter of Clement to the Corinthians; while Harnack ably maintains the Roman origin from the time and circle of Hermas. Bryennios ascribes it to Clement of Rome (which is quite impossible), Hilgenfeld to Clement of Alexandria (which is equally impossible).

wise from the Jewish into the Christian service. The oldest written prayer of post-apostolic times, which has recently been brought to light, is found at the close of Clement's Epistle to the Corinthians, and seems to have been used in the Roman church.¹ It is long and carefully composed, and largely interwoven with passages from the Old Testament. It begins with an elaborate invocation of God in antithetical sentences, contains intercession for the afflicted, the needy, the wanderers, and prisoners, petitions for the conversion of the heathen, a confession of sin and prayer for pardon (but without a formula of absolution), and closes with a prayer for unity and a doxology. Very touching is the prayer for rulers then so hostile to the Christians, that God may grant them health, peace, concord and stability. The document has a striking resemblance to portions of the ancient liturgies which begin to appear in the fourth century, but bear the names of Clement, James and Mark, and probably include some primitive elements.²

The last book of the Apostolical Constitutions contains the pseudo- or post-Clementine liturgy, with special prayers for believers, catechumens, the possessed, the penitent, and even for the dead, and a complete eucharistic service.³

The usual posture in prayer was standing with outstretched arms in Oriental fashion.

4. SONG. The Church inherited the psalter from the synagogue, and has used it in all ages as an inexhaustible treasury of devotion. The psalter is truly catholic in its spirit and aim; it springs from the deep fountains of the human heart in its secret communion with God, and gives classic expression to the

¹ *Ad Cor.* ch. 59-61, discovered and first published by Bryennios, 1875. We give below the excellent version of Lightfoot, who thinks that the prayer, though given as an immediate outpouring of the heart, "has all the appearance of a fixed form."

² See vol. III. 517 sqq., and add to the literature there quoted, PROBST (R. C.), *Die Liturgie der 3 ersten Jahrh.*, Tüb., 1870; C. A. HAMMOND, *Ancient Liturgies* (with introduction, notes, and liturgical glossary), Oxford and Lond., 1878.

³ *Ap. Const.*, Bk. VIII., also in the liturgical collections of Daniel, Neale, Hammond, etc.

religious experience of all men in every age and tongue. This is the best proof of its inspiration. Nothing like it can be found in all the poetry of heathendom. The psalter was first enriched by the inspired hymns which saluted the birth of the Saviour of the world, the *Magnificat* of Mary, the *Benedictus* of Zacharias, the *Gloria in Excelsis* of the heavenly host, and the *Nunc Dimittis* of the aged Simeon. These hymns passed at once into the service of the Church, to resound through all successive centuries, as things of beauty which are "a joy forever." Traces of primitive Christian poems can be found throughout the Epistles and the Apocalypse. The angelic anthem (Luke 2: 14) was expanded into the *Gloria in Excelsis*, first in the Greek church, in the third, if not the second, century, and afterwards in the Latin, and was used as the morning hymn.¹ It is one of the classical forms of devotion, like the Latin *Te Deum* of later date. The evening hymn of the Greek church is less familiar and of inferior merit.

The following is a free translation :

"Hail! cheerful Light, of His pure glory poured,
Who is th' Immortal Father, Heavenly, Blest,
Holiest of Holies—Jesus Christ our Lord!
Now are we come to the Sun's hour of rest,
The lights of Evening round us shine,
We sing the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost Divine!
Worthiest art Thou at all times, to be sung
With undefiled tongue,
Son of our God, Giver of Life alone!
Therefore, in all the world, Thy glories, Lord, we own."*

¹ *Const. Apost.* lib. VII. 47. Also in Daniel's *Thesaurus Hymnol.*, tom. III., p. 4, where it is called ὕμνος ἐωθινός (as in Cod. Alex.), and commences: Δόξα ἐν ὑψίστοις Θεῷ. *Comp. Tom.* II. 268 sqq. It is also called *hymnus angelicus*, while the *Ter Sanctus* (from Isa. 6: 3) came afterwards to be distinguished as *hymnus seraphicus*. Daniel ascribes the former to the third century, Routh to the second. It is found with slight variations at the end of the Alexandrian Codex of the Bible (in the British Museum), and in the Zurich Psalter reprinted by Tischendorf in his *Monumenta Sacra*. The Latin form is usually traced to Hilary of Poitiers in the fourth century.

* Daniel, l. c. vol. III. p. 5. *Comp. in part Const. Ap.* VIII. 37. The ὕμνος ἑσπερινός or ὕμνος τοῦ λυχνικοῦ, commences:

• Φῶς ἱλαρὸν ἀγίας δόξης,
Ἀθανάτου πατρὸς οὐρανοῦ.

An author towards the close of the second century¹ could appeal against the Artemonites, to a multitude of hymns in proof of the faith of the church in the divinity of Christ: "How many psalms and odes of the Christians are there not, which have been written from the beginning by believers, and which, in their theology, praise Christ as the Logos of God?" Tradition says, that the antiphonies, or responsive songs, were introduced by Ignatius of Antioch. The Gnostics, Valentine and Bardesanes, also composed religious songs; and the church surely learned the practice not from them, but from the Old Testament psalms.

The oldest Christian poem preserved to us which can be traced to an individual author is from the pen of the profound Christian philosopher, Clement of Alexandria, who taught theology in that city before A. D. 202. It is a sublime but somewhat turgid song of praise to the Logos, as the divine educator and leader of the human race, and though not intended and adapted for public worship, is remarkable for its spirit and antiquity.²

NOTES.

I. The Prayer of the Roman Church from the newly recovered portion of the Epistle of Clement to the Corinthians, ch. 59-61 (in Bishop Lightfoot's translation, *St. Clement of Rome*, Append. pp. 376-378):

"Grant unto us, Lord, that we may set our hope on Thy Name which is the primal source of all creation, and open the eyes of our hearts, that we may know Thee, who alone abidest *Highest in the highest, Holy in the holy*; who layest low the insolence of the proud: who scatterest the imaginings of nations; who settest the lowly on high, and bringest the lofty low; who makeest rich and makeest poor; who killest and makeest alive; who alone art the Benefactor of spirits and the God of all flesh; who lookest into the abysses, who scankest the works of

¹ In Euseb. *H. E.* V. 28.

² In the *Pædag.* III. 12 (p. 311 ed. Pott.); also in Daniel's *Thesaurus hymnologicus* III. p. 3 and 4. Daniel calls it "*vetustissimus hymnus ecclesie*," but the *Gloria in Excelsis* may dispute this claim. The poem has been often translated into German, by Münter (in Rambach's *Anthologie christl. Gesänge*, I. p. 35); Dorner (*Christologie*, I. 293); Fortlage (*Gesänge christl. Vorzeit*, 1844, p. 38); and in rhyme by Hagenbach (*Die K. G. der 3 ersten Jahrh.* p. 222 sq.). An English translation may be found in Mrs. Charles: *The Voice of Christian Life in Song*, N. York, 1858, p. 44 sq., and a closer one in the "Ante-Nicene Christian Library," vol. V. p. 343 sq.

man; the Succor of them that are in peril, *the Saviour of them that are in despair*; the Creator and Overseer of every spirit; who multiplieth the nations upon earth, and hast chosen out from all men those that love Thee through Jesus Christ, Thy beloved Son, through whom Thou didst instruct us, didst sanctify us, didst honor us. We beseech Thee, Lord and Master, to be our help and succor. Save those among us who are in tribulation; have mercy on the lowly; lift up the fallen; show Thyself unto the needy; heal the ungodly; convert the wanderers of Thy people; feed the hungry; release our prisoners; raise up the weak; comfort the faint-hearted. Let all the Gentiles know that *Thou art God alone, and Jesus Christ is Thy Son, and we are Thy people and the sheep of Thy pasture.*

"Thou through Thine operations didst make manifest the everlasting fabric of the world. Thou, Lord, didst create the earth. Thou that art faithful throughout all generations, righteous in Thy judgments, marvellous in strength and excellence. Thou that art wise in creating and prudent in establishing that which Thou hast made, that art good in the things which are seen and faithful with them that trust on Thee, pitiful and compassionate, forgive us our iniquities and our unrighteousnesses and our transgressions and shortcomings. Lay not to our account every sin of Thy servants and Thine handmaids, but cleanse us with the cleansing of Thy truth, and guide our steps to walk in holiness and righteousness and singleness of heart, and to do such things as are good and well-pleasing in Thy sight and in the sight of our rulers. Yea, Lord, make Thy face to shine upon us in peace for our good, that we may be sheltered by Thy mighty hand and delivered from every sin by Thine uplifted arm. And deliver us from them that hate us wrongfully. Give concord and peace to us and to all that dwell on the earth, as thou gavest to our fathers, when they called on Thee in faith and truth with holiness, that we may be saved, while we render obedience to Thine almighty and most excellent Name, and to our rulers and governors upon the earth.

"Thou, Lord and Master, hast given them the power of sovereignty through Thine excellent and unspeakable might, that we knowing the glory and honor which Thou hast given them may submit ourselves unto them, in nothing resisting Thy will. Grant unto them therefore, O Lord, health, peace, concord, stability, that they may administer the government which Thou hast given them without failure. For Thou, O heavenly Master, King of the ages, givest to the sons of men glory and honor and power over all things that are upon earth. Do Thou, Lord, direct their counsel according to that which is good and well pleasing in Thy sight, that, administering in peace and gentleness with godliness the power which Thou hast given them, they may obtain Thy favor. O Thou, who alone art able to do these things and things far more exceeding good than these for us, we praise Thee through the High-priest and Guardian of our souls, Jesus Christ, through whom be the glory and the majesty unto Thee both now and for all generations and for ever and ever. Amen."

II. A literal translation of the poem of Clement of Alexandria in praise of Christ. Ὕμνος τοῦ Σωτῆρος Χριστοῦ. (Στοιμίον πᾶλιν ἁδᾶν).

"Bridle of untamed colts,
Wing of unwandering birds,
Sure Helm of babes,
Shepherd of royal lambs!
Assemble Thy simple children,
To praise holily,
To hymn guilelessly
With innocent mouths
Christ, the guide of children.

O King of saints,
All-subduing Word
Of the most high Father,
Prince of wisdom,
Support of sorrows,
That rejoicest in the ages,
Jesus, Saviour
Of the human race,
Shepherd, Husbandman,
Helm, Bridle,
Heavenly Wing,
Of the all holy flock,
Fisher of men
Who are saved,
Catching the chaste fishes
With sweet life
From the hateful wave
Of a sea of vices.

Guide [us], Shepherd
Of rational sheep;
Guide harmless children,
O holy King.

O footsteps of Christ,
O heavenly way,
Perennial Word,
Endless age,
Eternal Light,
Fount of mercy,
Performer of virtue.
Noble [is the] life of those
Who praise God,
O Christ Jesus,
Heavenly milk
Of the sweet breasts
Of the graces of the Bride,
Pressed out of Thy wisdom.

Babes, nourished
With tender mouths,
Filled with the dewy spirit
Of the spiritual breast,
Let us sing together
Simple praises
True hymns
To Christ [the] King,
Holy reward
For the doctrine of life.
Let us sing together,
Sing in simplicity
To the mighty Child.
O choir of peace,
The Christ begotten,
O chaste people
Let us praise together
The God of peace."

This poem was for sixteen centuries merely a hymnological curiosity, until an American Congregational minister, Dr. HENRY MARTYN DEXTER, by a happy reproduction, in 1846, secured it a place in modern hymn-books. While preparing a sermon (as he informs me) on "some prominent characteristics of the early Christians" (text, Deut. 32: 7, "Remember the days of old"), he first wrote down an exact translation of the Greek hymn of Clement, and then reproduced and modernized it for the use of his congregation in connection with the sermon. It is well known that many Psalms of Israel have inspired some of the noblest

Christian hymns. The 46th Psalm gave the key-note of Luther's triumphant war-hymn of the Reformation: "*Ein' feste Burg.*" John Mason Neale dug from the dust of ages many a Greek and Latin hymn, to the edification of English churches, notably some portions of Bernard of Cluny's *De Contemptu Mundi*, which runs through nearly three thousand dactylic hexameters, and furnished the material for "Brief life is here our portion," "For thee, O dear, dear Country," and "Jerusalem the golden." We add Dexter's hymn as a fair specimen of a useful transfusion and rejuvenation of an old poem.

- | | |
|---|---|
| <p>1. Shepherd of tender youth,
Guiding in love and truth
Through devious ways;
Christ, our triumphant King,
We come Thy name to sing;
Hither our children bring
To shout Thy praise!</p> | <p>None calls on Thee in vain;
Help Thou dost not disdain—
Help from above.</p> |
| <p>2. Thou art our Holy Lord,
The all-subduing Word,
Healer of strife!
Thou didst Thyself abase,
That from sin's deep disgrace
Thou mightest save our race,
And give us life.</p> | <p>4. Ever be Thou our Guide,
Our Shepherd and our Pride,
Our Staff and Song!
Jesus, Thou Christ of God,
By Thy perennial Word
Lead us where Thou hast trod,
Make our faith strong.</p> |
| <p>3. Thou art the great High Priest;
Thou hast prepared the feast
Of heavenly love;
While in our mortal pain</p> | <p>5. So now, and till we die,
Sound we Thy praises high,
And joyful sing:
Infants, and the glad throng
Who to Thy Church belong,
Unite to swell the song
To Christ our King!</p> |

§ 67. *Division of Divine Service. The Disciplina Arcani.*

RICHARD BOTHE: *De Disciplinæ Arcani, quæ dicitur, in Ecclesia Christ. Origine.* Heidelb. 1841; and his art. on the subject in the first ed. of Herzog (vol. I. 469-477).

C. A. GERH. VON ZEESCHWITZ: *System der christl. kirchlichen Katechetik.* Leipz. 1863, vol. I. p. 154-227. See also his art. in the second ed. of Herzog, I. 637-645 (abridged in Schaff's "Rel. Enc.").

G. NATH. BONWETSCH (of Dorpat): *Wesen, Entstehung und Fortgang der Arkandisciplin*, in Kahn's "Zeitschrift für hist. Theol." 1873, pp. 203 sqq.

J. P. LUNDY: *Monumental Christianity.* N. York, 1876, p. 62-86.

Comp. also A. W. HADDAN in Smith & Cheetham, I. 564-566; WANDINGER, in Wetzer & Welte, new ed. vol. I. (1882), 1234-1238. Older dissertations on the subject by SCHELSTRATE (1678), MEIER (1679), TENZELL (1863), SCHOLLNER (1756), LIENHARDT (1829), TOKLOT (1836), FROMMANN (1833), SIEGEL (1836, I. 506 sqq.).

The public service was divided from the middle of the second century down to the close of the fifth, into the worship of the catechumens,¹ and the worship of the faithful.² The former consisted of scripture reading, preaching, prayer, and song, and was open to the unbaptized and persons under penance. The latter consisted of the holy communion, with its liturgical appendages; none but the proper members of the church could attend it; and before it began, all catechumens and unbelievers left the assembly at the order of the deacon,³ and the doors were closed or guarded.

The earliest witness for this strict separation is Tertullian, who reproaches the heretics with allowing the baptized and the unbaptized to attend the same prayers, and casting the holy even before the heathens.⁴ He demands, that believers, catechumens, and heathens should occupy separate places in public worship. The Alexandrian divines furnished a theoretical ground for this

¹ Λειτουργία τῶν κατηχομένων, *Missæ Catechumenorum*. The name *missæ* (from which our *mass* is derived) occurs first in Augustin and in the acts of the council of Carthage, A. D. 398. It arose from the formula of dismissal at the close of each part of the service, and is equivalent to *missio*, *dismissio*. Augustin (*Serm.* 49, c. 8): "Take notice, after the sermon the dismissal (*missæ*) of the catechumens takes place; the faithful will remain." Afterwards *missæ* came to designate exclusively the communion service. In the Greek church λειτουργία or λειτουργία, *service*, is the precise equivalent for *missæ*.

² Λειτουργία τῶν πιστῶν, *Missæ Fidelium*.

³ Μὴ τις τῶν κατηχομένων, μὴ τις τῶν ἀκροαμένων, μὴ τις τῶν ἀπίστων, μὴ τις ἐτεροδόξων, "Let none of the catechumens, let none of the hearers, let none of the unbelievers, let none of the heterodox, stay here." *Const. Apost.* viii. 12. Comp. Chrysostom, *Hom. in Matt.* xxiii.

⁴ *De Præscr. Hær.* c. 41: "*Quis catechumenus, quis fidelis, incertum est*" (that is, among the heretics); "*pariter adeunt, pariter orant, etiam ethnici, si supervenerint; sanctum canibus et porcis margaritas, licet non veras*" (since they have no proper sacraments), "*jactabunt.*" But this does not apply to all heretics, least of all to the Manichæans, who carried the notion of mystery in the sacraments much further than the Catholics.

practice by their doctrine of a secret tradition for the esoteric. Besides the communion, the sacrament of baptism, with its accompanying confession, was likewise treated as a mystery for the initiated,¹ and withdrawn from the view of Jews and heathens.

We have here the beginnings of the Christian mystery-worship, or what has been called since 1679 "the Secret Discipline," (*Disciplina Arcani*), which is presented in its full development in the liturgies of the fourth century, but disappeared from the Latin church after the sixth century, with the dissolution of heathenism and the universal introduction of infant baptism.

The Secret Discipline had reference chiefly to the celebration of the sacraments of baptism and the eucharist, but included also the baptismal symbol, the Lord's Prayer, and the doctrine of the Trinity. Clement of Alexandria, Origen, Cyril of Jerusalem, and other fathers make a distinction between lower or elementary (exoteric) and higher or deeper (esoteric) doctrines, and state that the latter are withheld from the uninitiated out of reverence and to avoid giving offence to the weak and the heathen. This mysterious reticence, however, does not justify the inference that the Secret Discipline included transubstantiation, purgatory, and other Roman dogmas which are not expressly taught in the writings of the fathers. The argument from silence is set aside by positive proof to the contrary.² Modern Roman archaeologists have pressed the whole symbolism of the Catacombs into the service of the Secret Discipline, but without due regard to the age of those symbolical representations.

The origin of the Secret Discipline has been traced by some to

¹ *Μύησις, initiati* = *παιδοί, fideles*.

² The learned Jesuit Emanuel von Schelstrate first used this argument in *Antiquitas illustrata* (Antv. 1678), and *De Disciplina Arcani* (Rom. 1685); but he was refuted by the Lutheran W. Ernst Tentzel, in his *Dissert. de Disc. Arcani*, Lips. 1683 and 1692. Tentzel, Casaubon, Bingham, Rothe, and Zetzschwits are wrong, however, in confining the *Disc. Arc.* to the ritual and excluding the dogma. See especially Cyril of Jerus. *Katech.* XVI. 26; XVIII. 32, 33.

the apostolic age, on the ground of the distinction made between "milk for babes" and "strong meat" for those "of full age," and between speaking to "carnal" and to "spiritual" hearers.¹ But this distinction has no reference to public worship, and Justin Martyr, in his first Apology, addressed to a heathen emperor, describes the celebration of baptism and the eucharist without the least reserve. Others derive the institution from the sacerdotal and hierarchical spirit which appeared in the latter part of the second century, and which no doubt favored and strengthened it;² still others, from the Greek and Roman mystery worship, which would best explain many expressions and formulas, together with all sorts of unscriptural pedantries connected with these mysteries.³ Yet the first motive must be sought rather in an opposition to heathenism; to wit, in the feeling of the necessity of guarding the sacred transactions of Christianity, the embodiment of its deepest truths, against profanation in the midst of a hostile world, according to Matt. 7: 6; especially when after Hadrian, perhaps even from the time of Nero, those transactions came to be so shamefully misunderstood and slandered. To this must be added a proper regard for modesty and decency in the administration of adult baptism by immersion. Finally—and this is the chief cause—the institution of the order of catechumens led to a distinction of half-Christians and full-Christians, exoteric and esoteric, and this distinction gradually became

¹ Heb. 5: 12-14; 1 Cor. 3: 1, 2. So some fathers who carry the *Disc. Arc.* back to the Lord's command, Matt. 7: 6, and in recent times Credner (1844), and Wandinger (in the new ed. of Wetzer and Welte, I. 1237). St. Paul, 1 Cor. 14: 23-25, implies the presence of strangers in the public services, but not necessarily during the communion.

² So Bonwetsch, *l. c.*, versus Rothe and Zetzschwitz.

³ The correspondence is very apparent in the ecclesiastical use of such terms as *μυστήριον*, *σύμβολον*, *μύησις*, *μυσταγωγείν*, *κάθαρσις*, *τελείωσις*, *φωτισμός* (of baptism), etc. On the Greek, and especially the Eleusinian cultus of mysteries, comp. Lobeck, *Aglaophanus*, Königsberg, 1829; several articles of Preller in Pauly's *Realencyklop. der Alterthumswissenschaft* III. 83 sqq., V. 311 sqq., Zetzschwitz, *l. c.* 156 sqq., and Lübker's *Reallex. des class. Alterthums*, 5th ed. by Erler (1877), p. 762. Lobeck has refuted the older view of Warburton and Creuzer, that a secret wisdom, and especially the traditions of a primitive revelation, were propagated in the Greek mysteries.

established in the liturgy. The secret discipline was therefore a temporary, educational and liturgical expedient of the ante-Nicene age. The catechumenate and the division of the acts of worship grew together and declined together. With the disappearance of *adult* catechumens, or with the general use of infant baptism and the union of church and state, disappeared also the secret discipline in the sixth century: "*cessante causa cessat effectus.*"

The Eastern church, however, has retained in her liturgies to this day the ancient form for the dismissal of catechumens, the special prayers for them, the designation of the sacraments as "mysteries," and the partial celebration of the mass behind the veil; though she also has for centuries had no catechumens in the old sense of the word, that is, adult heathen or Jewish disciples preparing for baptism, except in rare cases of exception, or on missionary ground.

§ 68. *Celebration of the Eucharist.*

The celebration of the Eucharist or holy communion with appropriate prayers of the faithful was the culmination of Christian worship.¹ Justin Martyr gives us the following description, which still bespeaks the primitive simplicity:² "After the prayers [of the catechumen worship] we greet one another with the brotherly kiss. Then bread and a cup with water and wine are handed to the president (bishop) of the brethren. He receives them, and offers praise, glory, and thanks to the Father of all, through the name of the Son and the Holy Spirit, for these his gifts. When he has ended the prayers and thanksgiving, the whole congregation responds: 'Amen.' For 'Amen' in the Hebrew tongue means: 'Be it so.' Upon this the deacons, as we call them, give to each of those present some of the blessed bread,³ and of the wine mingled with water, and carry it to the absent in their dwellings. This food is called with us

¹ Names: *εὐχαριστία, κοινωνία, eucharistia, communio, communicatio*, etc.

² *Apol.* I. c. 65, 66.

³ *Εὐχαριστηθέντες ἀπορροῦ.*

the *eucharist*, of which none can partake, but the believing and baptized, who live according to the commands of Christ. For we use these not as common bread and common drink ; but like as Jesus Christ our Redeemer was made flesh through the word of God, and took upon him flesh and blood for our redemption ; so we are taught, that the nourishment blessed by the word of prayer, by which our flesh and blood are nourished by transformation (assimilation), is the flesh and blood of the incarnate Jesus."

Then he relates the institution from the Gospels, and mentions the customary collections for the poor.

We are not warranted in carrying back to this period the full liturgical service, which we find prevailing with striking uniformity in essentials, though with many variations in minor points, in all quarters of the church in the Nicene age. A certain simplicity and freedom characterized the period before us. Even the so-called Clementine liturgy, in the eighth book of the pseudo-Apostolic Constitutions, was probably not composed and written out in this form before the fourth century. There is no trace of *written* liturgies during the Diocletian persecution which aimed at the destruction of all ecclesiastical books. Yet by the third century a tolerably uniform practice must have arisen and spread by *oral* tradition ; otherwise the later liturgies were historically unaccountable.

From scattered statements of the ante-Nicene fathers we may gather the following view of the eucharistic service as it may have stood in the middle of the third century, if not earlier.

The communion was a regular and the most solemn part of the Sunday worship ; or it was the worship of God in the stricter sense, in which none but full members of the church could engage. In many places and by many Christians it was celebrated even daily, after apostolic precedent, and according to the very common mystical interpretation of the fourth petition of the Lord's prayer.¹ The service began, after the dismissal of

¹ Cyprian speaks of daily sacrifices. *Ep.* 54: "*Sacerdotes qui sacrificia Dei quotidie celebramus.*" So Ambrose, *Ep.* 14 *ad Marcell.*, and the oldest liturgical

the catechumens, with the kiss of peace, given by the men to men, and by the women to women, in token of mutual recognition as members of one redeemed family in the midst of a heartless and loveless world. It was based upon apostolic precedent, and is characteristic of the childlike simplicity, and love and joy of the early Christians.¹ The service proper consisted of two principal acts: the *oblation*,² or presenting of the offerings of the congregation by the deacons for the ordinance itself, and for the benefit of the clergy and the poor; and the *communion*, or partaking of the consecrated elements. In the oblation the congregation at the same time presented itself as a living thank-offering; as in the communion it appropriated anew in faith the sacrifice of Christ, and united itself anew with its Head. Both acts were accompanied and consecrated by prayer and songs of praise.

In the prayers we must distinguish, first, the general *thanksgiving* (the eucharist in the strictest sense of the word) for all the natural and spiritual gifts of God, commonly ending with the seraphic hymn, Isa. 6: 3; secondly, the prayer of *consecration*, or the invocation of the Holy Spirit³ upon the people and

works. But that the observance was various, is certified by Augustin, among others, *Ep.* 118 *ad Januar.* c. 2: "*Alii quotidie communicant corpori et sanguini Dominico; alii certis diebus accipiunt; alibi nullus dies intermittitur quo non offeratur; alibi sabbato tantum et dominico; alibi tantum dominico.*" St. Basil says (*Ep.* 289): "We commune four times in the week, on the Lord's Day, the fourth day, the preparation day [Friday], and the Sabbath." Chrysostom complains of the small number of communicants at the daily sacrifice.

¹ Rom. 16: 16; 1 Cor. 16: 20; 2 Cor. 13: 12; 1 Thess. 5: 26; 1 Pet. 5: 14. The Kiss of Peace continued in the Latin church till the end of the thirteenth century, and was then transferred to the close of the service or exchanged for a mere form of words: *Pax tibi et ecclesie*. In the Russian church the clergy kiss each other during the recital of the Nicene Creed to show the nominal union of orthodoxy and charity (so often divided). In the Coptic church the primitive custom is still in force, and in some small Protestant sects it has been revived.

² Προσφορά.

³ Ἐπίκλησις τοῦ Πν. Ἀγ. Irenæus derives this *invocatio Spiritus S.*, as well as the oblation and the thanksgiving, from apostolic instruction. See the 2nd fragment, in Stieren, I. 854. It appears in all the Greek liturgies. In the *Liturgia Jacobi* it reads thus: Καὶ ἐξαπόστειλον ἐφ' ἡμᾶς καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ προσκείμενα

the elements, usually accompanied by the recital of the words of institution and the Lord's Prayer; and finally, the general *intercessions* for all classes, especially for the believers, on the ground of the sacrifice of Christ on the cross for the salvation of the world. The length and order of the prayers, however, were not uniform; nor the position of the Lord's Prayer, which sometimes took the place of the prayer of consecration, being reserved for the prominent part of the service. Pope Gregory I. says that it "was the custom of the Apostles to consecrate the oblation only by the Lord's Prayer." The congregation responded from time to time, according to the ancient Jewish and the apostolic usage, with an audible "Amen," or "Kyrie eleison." The "Sursum corda," also, as an incitement to devotion, with the response, "Habemus ad Dominum," appears at least as early as Cyprian's time, who expressly alludes to it, and in all the ancient liturgies. The prayers were spoken, not read from a book. But extemporaneous prayer naturally assumes a fixed form by constant repetition.

The elements were common or leavened bread¹ (except among the Ebionites, who, like the later Roman church from the seventh century, used unleavened bread), and wine mingled with water. This mixing was a general custom in antiquity, but came now to have various mystical meanings attached to it. The elements were placed in the hands (not in the mouth) of each communicant by the clergy who were present, or, according to Justin, by the deacons alone, amid singing of psalms by the congregation (Psalm 34), with the words: "The body of Christ;" "The blood of Christ, the cup of life;" to each of

δῶρα ταῦτα τὸ Πνεῦμά σου τὸ πανάγιον, τὸ κύριον καὶ ζωοποιόν . . . ἵνα . . . ἀγιάσῃ καὶ ποιήσῃ τὸν μὲν ἄρτον τοῦτον σῶμα ἅγιον τοῦ Χριστοῦ σου, καὶ τὸ ποτήριον τοῦτο αἷμα τίμιον τοῦ Χρ. σου, ἵνα γένηται πᾶσι τοῖς ἐξ αὐτῶν μεταλαμβάνουσιν εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν καὶ εἰς ζωὴν αἰώνιον, εἰς ἀγιασμόν ψυχῶν καὶ σωμάτων, εἰς καρποφρίαν ἔργων ἀγαθῶν.

¹ Κοινὸς ἄρτος, says Justin, while in view of its sacred import he calls it also uncommon bread and drink. The use of leavened or unleavened bread became afterwards, as is well known, a point of controversy between the Roman and Greek churches.

which the recipient responded "Amen."¹ The whole congregation thus received the elements, standing in the act.² Thanksgiving and benediction concluded the celebration.

After the public service the deacons carried the consecrated elements to the sick and to the confessors in prison. Many took portions of the bread home with them, to use in the family at morning prayer. This domestic communion was practised particularly in North Africa, and furnishes the first example of a *communio sub una specie*. In the same country, in Cyprian's time, we find the custom of infant communion (administered with wine alone), which was justified from John 6: 53, and has continued in the Greek (and Russian) church to this day, though irreconcilable with the apostle's requisition of a preparatory examination (1 Cor. 11: 28).

At first the communion was joined with a LOVE FEAST, and was then celebrated in the evening, in memory of the last supper of Jesus with his disciples. But so early as the beginning of the second century these two exercises were separated, and the communion was placed in the morning, the love feast in the evening, except on certain days of special observance.³

¹ This simplest form of distribution, "Σῶμα Χριστοῦ," and "Αἷμα Χρ., πότηριον ζωῆς," occurs in the Clementine liturgy of the Apostolic Constitutions, VIII. 13, and seems to be the oldest.

² The standing posture of the congregation during the principal prayers, and in the communion itself, seems to have been at first universal. For this was, indeed, the custom always on the day of the resurrection in distinction from Friday ("*stantes oramus, quod est signum resurrectionis*," says Augustin); besides, the communion was, in the highest sense, a ceremony of festivity and joy; and finally, Justin expressly observes: "Then we all stand up to prayer." After the twelfth century, kneeling in receiving the elements became general, and passed from the Catholic church into the Lutheran and Anglican, while most of the Reformed churches returned to the original custom of standing. Sitting in the communion was first introduced after the Reformation by the Presbyterian church of Scotland, and is very common in the United States, the deacons or elders handing the bread and cup to the communicants in their pews. A curious circumstance is the *sitting* posture of the Pope in the communion, which Dean Stanley regards as a relic of the reclining or recumbent posture of the primitive disciples. See his *Christ. Instit.* p. 250 sqq.

³ On Maundy-Thurs day, according to Augustin's testimony, the communion continued to be celebrated in the evening, "*tanquam ad insigniorem*

Tertullian gives a detailed description of the Agape in refutation of the shameless calumnies of the heathens.¹ But the growth of the churches and the rise of manifold abuses led to the gradual disuse, and in the fourth century even to the formal prohibition of the Agape, which belonged in fact only to the childhood and first love of the church. It was a family feast, where rich and poor, master and slave met on the same footing, partaking of a simple meal, hearing reports from distant congregations, contributing to the necessities of suffering brethren, and encouraging each other in their daily duties and trials. Augustin describes his mother Monica as going to these feasts with a basket full of provisions and distributing them.

The communion service has undergone many changes in the course of time, but still substantially survives with all its primitive vitality and solemnity in all churches of Christendom,—a perpetual memorial of Christ's atoning sacrifice and saving love to the human race. Baptism and the Lord's Supper are institutions which proclaim from day to day the historic Christ, and can never be superseded by contrivances of human ingenuity and wisdom.

commemorationem." So on high feasts, as Christmas night, Epiphany, and Easter Eve, and in fasting seasons. See Ambrose, *Serm. viii. in Ps. 118.*

¹ *Apol. c. 39*: "About the modest supper-room of the Christians alone a great ado is made. Our feast explains itself by its name. The Greeks call it love. Whatever it costs, our outlay in the name of piety is gain, since with the good things of the feast we benefit the needy, not as it is with you, do parasites aspire to the glory of satisfying their licentious propensities, selling themselves for a belly-feast to all disgraceful treatment—but as it is with God himself, a peculiar respect is shown to the lowly. If the object of our feast be good, in the light of that consider its further regulations. As it is an act of religious service, it permits no vileness or immodesty. The participants, before reclining, taste first of prayer to God. As much is eaten as satisfies the cravings of hunger; as much is drunk as befits the chaste. They say it is enough, as those who remember that even during the night they have to worship God; they talk as those who know that the Lord is one of their auditors. After the washing of hands and the bringing in of lights, each is asked to stand forth and sing, as he can, a hymn to God, either one from the holy Scriptures or one of his own composing—a proof of the measure of our drinking. As the feast commenced with prayer, so with prayer it closed. We go from it, not like troops of mischief-doers, nor bands of roamers, nor to break out into licentious acts, but to have as much care of our modesty and chastity as if we had been at a school of virtue rather than a banquet." (*Translation from the "Ante-Nicene Library"*).

§ 69. *The Doctrine of the Eucharist.*

Literature. See the works quoted, vol. I. 472, by WATERLAND (Episc. d. 1740), DÖLLINGER (R. Cath., 1826; since 1870 Old Cath.), EBRARD (Calvinistic, 1845), NEVIN (Calvinistic, 1846), KAHNIS (Luth. 1851, but changed his view in his *Dogmatik*), E. B. PUSEY (high Anglic., 1855), RÜCKERT (Rationalistic, 1856), VOGAN (high Anglic., 1871), HARRISON (Evang. Angl., 1871), STANLEY (Broad Church Episc., 1881).

On the Eucharistic doctrine of Ignatius, Justin, Irenæus, and Tertullian, there are also special treatises by THIERSCH (1841), SEMISCH (1842), ENGELHARDT (1842), BAUR (1839 and 1857), STEITZ (1864), and others.

HÖFLING: *Die Lehre der ältesten Kirche von Opfer im Leben und Cultus der Christen.* Erlangen, 1851.

Dean STANLEY: *The Eucharistic Sacrifice.* In "Christian Institutions" (N. Y. 1881) p. 73 sqq.

The doctrine concerning the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, not coming into special discussion, remained indefinite and obscure. The ancient church made more account of the worthy participation of the ordinance than of the logical apprehension of it. She looked upon it as the holiest mystery of the Christian worship, and accordingly celebrated it with the deepest devotion, without inquiring into the mode of Christ's presence, nor into the relation of the sensible signs to his flesh and blood. It is unhistorical to carry any of the later theories back into this age; although it has been done frequently in the apologetic and polemic discussion of this subject.

I. THE EUCHARIST AS A SACRAMENT.

Of the apostolic fathers Ignatius alone, the champion of old Catholic episcopacy, speaks of the eucharist in two passages of the Greek text, more in the way of allusion, but in very strong, mystical terms, calling it the flesh of our crucified and risen Lord Jesus Christ, and the consecrated bread a medicine of immortality and an antidote of spiritual death.¹ This view,

¹ *Ad Smyrn.* c. 7; against the Docetists, who deny τὴν εὐχαριστίαν σάρκα εἶναι τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν 'Ι. Χρ., κ. τ. λ.; and *Ad Ephes.* c. 20: Ὅς (sc. ἄρτος) ἐστὶν φάρμακον ἀθανασίας, ἀντίδοτος τοῦ μὴ ἀποθάνειν, ἀλλὰ ζῆν ἐν Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ διὰ παντός. Both passages are wanting in the Syriac version. But the first is Vol. II. 16.

closely connected with his high-churchly tendency in general, no doubt involves belief in the real presence, and ascribes to the holy Supper an effect on spirit and body at once, with reference to the future resurrection, but is still somewhat obscure, and rather an expression of elevated feeling, than a logical definition.

The same may be said of Justin Martyr, when he compares the descent of Christ into the consecrated elements to his incarnation for our redemption.¹

Irenæus says repeatedly, in combating the Gnostic Docetism,² that bread and wine in the sacrament become, by the presence of the Word of God, and by the power of the Holy Spirit, the body and blood of Christ, and that the receiving of them strengthens soul and body (the germ of the resurrection body) unto eternal life. Yet this would hardly warrant our ascribing either transubstantiation or consubstantiation to Irenæus. For in another place he calls the bread and wine, after consecration, "antitypes," implying the continued distinction of their substance from the body and blood of Christ.³ This expression in itself, indeed, might be understood as merely contrasting here the Supper, as the substance, with the Old Testament passover, its type; as Peter calls baptism the antitype of the saving

cited by Theodoret, *Dial.* III. p. 231, and must therefore have been known even in the Syrian church in his time.

¹ *Apol.* I. 66 (I. 182, third ed. of Otto). Here also occurs already the term *μεταβολή*, which some Roman controversialists use at once as an argument for transubstantiation. Justin says: 'Εξ ἧς (i. e. τροφῆς) αἷμα καὶ σάρκες κατὰ μεταβολὴν τρέφονται ἡμῶν, ex quo alimento sanguis et carnes nostræ per mutationem aluntur. But according to the context, this denotes by no means a transmutation of the elements, but either the assimilation of them to the body of the receiver, or the operation of them upon the body, with reference to the future resurrection. Comp. John 6: 54 sqq., and like passages in Ignatius and Irenæus.

² *Adv. hæ.* IV. 18, and *passim*.

³ In the second of the Fragments discovered by Pfaff (*Opp. Iren.* ed. Stieren, vol. I. p. 855), which Maffei and other Roman divines have unwarrantably declared spurious. It is there said that the Christians, after the offering of the eucharistic sacrifice, call upon the Holy Ghost, ὅπως ἀποφῆνῃ τὴν θυσίαν ταύτην καὶ τὸν ἄρτον σῶμα τοῦ Χριστοῦ, καὶ τὸ ποτήριον τὸ αἷμα τοῦ Χρ., ἵνα οἱ μεταλαβόντες τούτων τῶν ἀντιτύπων, τῆς ἀφέσεως τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν καὶ τῆς ζωῆς αἰωνίου τύχωσιν.

water of the flood.¹ But the connection, and the *usus loquendi* of the earlier Greek fathers, require us to take the term antitype in the sense of type, or, more precisely, as the antithesis of archetype. The bread and wine represent and exhibit the body and blood of Christ as the archetype, and correspond to them, as a copy to the original. In exactly the same sense it is said in Heb. 9: 24—comp. 8: 5—that the earthly sanctuary is the antitype, that is the copy, of the heavenly archetype. Other Greek fathers also, down to the fifth century, and especially the author of the Apostolical Constitutions, call the consecrated elements “antitypes” (sometimes, like Theodoretus, “types”) of the body and blood of Christ.²

A different view, approaching nearer the Calvinistic or Reformed, we meet with among the African fathers. Tertullian makes the words of institution: *Hoc est corpus meum*, equivalent to: *figura corporis mei*, to prove, in opposition to Marcion’s docetism, the reality of the body of Jesus—a mere phantom being capable of no emblematic representation.³ This involves, at all events, an essential distinction between the consecrated elements and the body and blood of Christ in the Supper. Yet Tertullian must not be understood as teaching a *merely* symbolical presence of Christ; for in other places he speaks, according to his general realistic turn, in almost materialistic language of an eating of the body of Christ, and extends the participation even to the body of the receiver.⁴ Cyprian likewise ap-

¹ 1 Pet. 3: 20, 21.

² Const. Apost. l. V. c. 14: Τὰ ἀντίτυπα μυστήρια τοῦ τούτου σώματος αὐτοῦ καὶ αἱμάτων. So VI. 30, and in a eucharistic prayer, VII. 25. Other passages of the Greek fathers see in Stieren, l. c. p. 884 sq. Comp. also Bleek’s learned remarks in his large *Com. on Heb.* 8: 5, and 9: 24.

³ *Adv. Marc.* IV. 40; and likewise III. 19. This interpretation is plainly very near that of Oecolampadius, who puts the figure in the predicate, and who attached no small weight to Tertullian’s authority. But the Zwinglian view, which puts the figure in the *τόπος*, instead of the predicate, appears also in Tertullian, *Adv. Marc.* I. 14, in the words: “*Panem qui ipsum corpus suum representat.*” The two interpretations are only grammatical modifications of the same symbolical theory.

⁴ *De Resur. Carnis*, c. 8. “*Caro corpore et sanguine Christi vescitur, ut et anima de Deo saginetur.*” *De Pudic.* c. 9, he refers the fattened calf, in the parable of

pears to favor a symbolical interpretation of the words of institution, yet not so clearly. The idea of the real presence would have much better suited his sacerdotal conception of the ministry. In the customary mixing of the wine with water he sees a type of the union of Christ with his church,¹ and, on the authority of John 6: 53, holds the communion of the Supper indispensable to salvation. The idea of a sacrifice comes out very boldly in Cyprian.

The Alexandrians are here, as usual, decidedly spiritualistic. Clement twice expressly calls the wine a symbol or an allegory of the blood of Christ, and says, that the communicant receives not the physical, but the spiritual blood, the life, of Christ; as, indeed, the blood is the life of the body. Origen distinguishes still more definitely the earthly elements from the heavenly bread of life, and makes it the whole design of the supper to feed the soul with the divine word.² Applying his unsound allegorical method here, he makes the bread represent the Old Testament, the wine the New, and the breaking of the bread the multiplication of the divine word! But these were rather private views for the initiated, and can hardly be taken as presenting the doctrine of the Alexandrian church.

We have, therefore, among the ante-Nicene fathers, three dif-

the prodigal son, to the Lord's Supper, and says: "*Opimulate Dominici corporis vescitur, eucharistia scilicet.*" *De Orat.* c. 6: "*Quod et corpus Christi in pane censetur,*" which should probably be translated: is to be understood by the bread (not contained in the bread).

¹ For this reason he considers the mixing essential. *Epist.* 63 (ed. Bal.) c. 13: "*Si vinum tantum quis offerat, sanguis Christi incipit esse sine nobis; si vero aqua sit sola, plebs incipit esse sine Christo. Quando autem utrumque miscetur et adunatione confusa sibi invicem copulatur, tunc sacramentum spirituale et celeste perficitur.*"

² *Comment. ser. in Matt.* c. 85 (III. 898): "*Panis iste, quem Deus Verbum [Logos] corpus suum esse fatetur, verbum est nutritorium animarum, verbum de Deo Verbo procedens, et panis de pani celesti. . . . Non enim panem illum visibilem, quem tenebat in manibus, corpus suum dicebat Deus Verbum, sed verbum, in cuius mysterio fuerat panis ille frangendus.*" Then the same of the wine. Origen evidently goes no higher than the Zwinglian theory, while Clement approaches the Calvinistic view of a spiritual real fruition of Christ's life in the eucharist.

ferent views, an Oriental, a North-African, and an Alexandrian. The first view, that of Ignatius and Irenæus, agrees most nearly with the mystical character of the celebration of the eucharist, and with the catholicizing features of the age.

2. THE EUCHARIST AS A SACRIFICE.

This point is very important in relation to the doctrine, and still more important in relation to the cultus and life, of the ancient church. The Lord's Supper was universally regarded not only as a sacrament, but also as a sacrifice,¹ the true and eternal sacrifice of the new covenant, superseding all the provisional and typical sacrifices of the old; taking the place particularly of the passover, or the feast of the typical redemption from Egypt. This eucharistic sacrifice, however, the ante-Nicene fathers conceived not as an unbloody repetition of the atoning sacrifice of Christ on the cross, but simply as a commemoration and renewed appropriation of that atonement, and, above all, a thank-offering of the whole church for all the favors of God in creation and redemption. Hence the current name itself—*eucharist*; which denoted in the first place the prayer of thanksgiving, but afterwards the whole rite.²

The consecrated elements were regarded in a twofold light, as representing at once the natural and the spiritual gifts of God, which culminated in the self-sacrifice of Christ on the cross. Hence the eucharistic prayer, like that connected with the typical passover, related at the same time to creation and redemption, which were the more closely joined in the mind of the church for their dualistic separation by the Gnostics. The earthly gifts of bread and wine were taken as types and pledges of the heavenly gifts of the same God, who has both created and redeemed the world.

Upon this followed the idea of the self-sacrifice of the worshipper himself, the sacrifice of renewed self-consecration to

¹ Προσφορά, θυσία, oblatio, sacrificium.

² So among the Jews the cup of wine at the paschal supper was called "the cup of blessing," ποτήριον εὐλογίας = εὐχαριστίας, comp. 1 Cor. 10: 16.

Christ in return for his sacrifice on the cross, and also the sacrifice of charity to the poor. Down to the twelfth and thirteenth centuries the eucharistic elements were presented as a thank-offering by the members of the congregation themselves, and the remnants went to the clergy and the poor. In these gifts the people yielded themselves as a priestly race and a living thank-offering to God, to whom they owed all the blessings alike of providence and of grace. In later times the priest alone offered the sacrifice. But even the Roman Missal retains a recollection of the ancient custom in the plural form, "*We offer*," and in the sentence: "All you, both brethren and sisters, pray that my sacrifice and your sacrifice, which is equally yours as well as mine, may be meat for the Lord."

This subjective offering of the whole congregation on the ground of the objective atoning sacrifice of Christ is the real centre of the ancient Christian worship, and particularly of the communion. It thus differed both from the later Catholic mass, which has changed the thank-offering into a sin-offering, the congregational offering into a priest offering; and from the common Protestant cultus, which, in opposition to the Roman mass, has almost entirely banished the idea of sacrifice from the celebration of the Lord's Supper, except in the customary offerings for the poor.

The writers of the second century keep strictly within the limits of the notion of a congregational *thank-offering*. Thus Justin says expressly, prayers and thanksgivings alone are the true and acceptable sacrifices, which the Christians offer. Irenæus has been brought as a witness for the Roman doctrine, only on the ground of a false reading.¹ The African fathers, in the third century, who elsewhere incline to the symbolical interpretation of the words of institution, are the first to approach on

¹ *Adv. Hæc.* IV. c. 18, § 4: "*Verbum* [the Logos] *quod offertur Deo*," instead of which should be read, according to other manuscripts: "*Verbum per quod offertur*,"—which suits the connexion much better. *Comp.* IV. 17, § 6: "*Per Jes. Christum offert ecclesia*." Stieren reads "*Verbum quod*," but refers it not to Christ, but to the word of the prayer. The passage is, at all events, too obscure and too isolated to build a dogma upon.

this point the later Roman Catholic idea of a sin-offering; especially Cyprian, the steadfast advocate of priesthood and of episcopal authority.¹ The ideas of priesthood, sacrifice, and altar, are intimately connected, and a Judaizing or paganizing conception of one must extend to all.

§ 70. *The Celebration of Baptism.*

The Lit. see in vol. I. § 54, p. 465 sq., especially WALL and HÖFLING.

On the archæology of baptism see the seventh volume of AUGUSTI'S *Denkwürdigkeiten*, etc., the first vol. of BINTERIM, and the art. *baptism* in SMITH and CHEETHAM, I. 155-172. Also, on the Baptist side, H. OSGOOD in Schaff's "Encycl." I. 198 sq., and NORMAN FOX: *The Rise of the Use of Pouring and Sprinkling for Baptism*, in the "Baptist Quarterly Review," Cincinnati, Oct., 1882. For pictorial illustrations see the monumental works of Cav. DE ROSSI, GARBUCCI, ROLLER, and others, on the Catacombs and early Christian art.

Justin Martyr gives the following brief account of the celebration of baptism before the middle of the second century: ² "Those who are convinced of the truth of our doctrine, and have promised to live according to it, are exhorted to prayer, fasting and repentance for past sins; we praying and fasting with them. Then they are led by us to a place where is water, and in this way they are regenerated, as we also have been regenerated; ³ that is, they receive the water-bath in the name of God, the Father and Ruler of all, and of our Redeemer Jesus Christ, and of the Holy Ghost. For Christ says: Except ye be born again, ye cannot enter into the kingdom of heaven.⁴ . . . Thus, from children of necessity and ignorance, we become

¹ *Epist.* 63 ad Cecil. c. 14: "Si Jesus Christus, Dominus et Deus noster, ipse et summus sacerdos Dei Patris et sacrificium Patri seipsum primus obtulit et hoc fieri in sui commemorationem præcepit: utique ille sacerdos vice Christi vere fungitur, qui id, quod Christus fecit, imitatur et sacrificium verum et plenum tunc offert in ecclesia Dei Patris, si sic incipiat offerre, secundum quod ipsum Christum videat obtulisse."

² *Apol.* I., c. 61 (I. 164 ed. Otto).

³ ἄγοντας ἐφ' ἡμῶν ἐνθα ἰδὼς ἐστὶ, καὶ τρόπον ἀναγεννήσεως, ὃν καὶ ἡμεῖς αὐτοὶ ἀναγεννηθῆμεν, ἀναγεννώμεναι.

⁴ John 3: 5. One of the oldest testimonies to the existence of John's Gospel. On the slight departure from the text in John, see vol. I. 703, note 4.

children of choice and of wisdom, and partakers of the forgiveness of former sins. . . . The baptismal bath is called also illumination (*φωτισμός*), because those who receive it are enlightened in the understanding."

This account may be completed by the following particulars from Tertullian and later writers.

Before the act the candidate was required in a solemn vow to renounce the service of the devil, that is, all evil,¹ give himself to Christ, and confess the sum of the apostolic faith in God the Father, the Son, and Holy Spirit.² The Apostles' Creed, therefore, is properly the baptismal symbol, as it grew, in fact, out of the baptismal formula.

This act of turning from sin and turning to God, or of repentance and faith, on the part of the candidate, was followed by an appropriate prayer of the minister, and then by the baptism itself in the triune name, with three successive immersions in which the deacons and deaconesses assisted. The immersion consisted in thrice dipping the head of the candidate who stood nude in the water.³ Single immersion seems to have been

¹ *Abrenunciatio diaboli*. Tertullian: "*Renunciare diabolo et pompæ et angelis ejus.*" Const. Apost.: 'Ἀποτάσσομαι τῷ Σατανᾷ καὶ τοῖς ἔργοις αὐτοῦ καὶ ταῖς πομπαῖς αὐτοῦ, καὶ ταῖς λατρείαις αὐτοῦ, καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς ὑπ' αὐτόν. This renunciation of the devil was made, at least in the fourth century, as we learn from Cyril of Jerusalem, in the vestibule of the baptistery, with the face towards the west, and the hand raised in the repelling posture, as if Satan were present (*ὡς παρόντι ἀποτάσσεσθε Σατανᾷ*), and was sometimes accompanied with exufflations, or other signs of expulsion of the evil spirit.

² *Ὁμολόγησις, professio*. The creed was either said by the catechumen after the priest, or confessed in answer to questions, and with the face turned eastwards towards the light.

³ See the authorities quoted in Smith and Cheetham, I. 161, and more fully in Augusti, l. c. "*Ter mergimur,*" says Tertullian. Immersion was very natural in Southern climates. The baptisteries of the Nicene age, of which many remain in Asia, Africa, and Southern Europe, were built for immersion, and all Oriental churches still adhere to this mode. Garrucci (*Storia della Arte Cristiana*, I. 27) says: "*Antichissimo e solenne fu il rito d' immergere la persona nell' acqua, e tre volte anche il capo, al pronunciare del ministro i tre nomi.*" Schultze (*Die Kutakomben*, p. 136): "*Die Taufdarstellungen vorkonstantinischer Zeit, deren Zahl sich auf drei beläuft, zeigen sämtlich erwachsene Täuflinge, in zwei Fällen Knaben von etwa zwölf Jahren, im dritten Falle einen Jüngling. Der Act wird durch Untertauchen vollzogen.*" Dean Stanley delights in pictorial

introduced by Eunomius about 360, but was condemned on pain of degradation, yet it reappeared afterwards in Spain, and Pope Gregory I. declared both forms valid, the trine immersion as setting forth the Trinity, the single immersion the Unity of the Godhead.¹ The Eastern church, however, still adheres strictly to the trine immersion.² Baptism by *pouring* water from a shell or vessel or from the hand on the head of the candidate while he stood knee-deep or waist-deep in the water, occurs also and was probably considered equivalent to immersion.³ But baptism by mere *aspersion* or *sprinkling* was exceptional and applied only to infirm or sick persons; hence called *clinical* baptism.⁴ The validity of this baptism was even doubted by many in the third

exaggeration of the baptismal immersion in patristic times as contrasted with modern sprinkling. "Baptism," he says, "was not only a bath, but a plunge—an entire submersion in the deep water, a leap as into the rolling sea or the rushing river, where for the moment the waves close over the bather's head, and he emerges again as from a momentary grave; or it was a shock of a shower-bath—the rush of water passed over the whole person from capacious vessels, so as to wrap the recipient as within the veil of a splashing cataract. This was the part of the ceremony on which the Apostles laid so much stress. It was to them like a burial of the old former self and the rising up again of the new self." *Christian Institutions*, (1881), p. 9.

¹ Ep. I. 41 in reply to Leander, bishop of Hispala. Thomas Aquinas (*Summa Theol.*, Tom. IV., l. 615, ed. Migne) quotes this letter with approval, but gives the preference to *trina immersio*, as expressing "*triduum sepulture Christi et etiam Trinitas personarum*."

² The Russian Orthodox Catechism defines baptism as "a sacrament, in which a man who believes, having his body *thrice plunged in water* in the name of God the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, dies to the carnal life of sin, and is born again of the Holy Ghost to a life spiritual and holy." In the case of infants the act is usually completed by pouring water over the head, the rest of the body being immersed. So I was informed by a Greek priest.

³ Pouring or affusion is the present practice of the Roman Catholic church. It is first found on pictures in the Roman catacombs, one of which De Rossi assigns to the second century (in the cemetery of Calixtus). "It is remarkable that in almost all the earliest representations of baptism that have been preserved to us, this [the pouring of water from vessels over the body] is the special act represented." Marriott in Smith and Cheetham, I. 168. In the Baptistry of St. John at Ravenna which dates from the fifth century, Christ is represented as standing waist-deep in the river Jordan, and John the Baptist as pouring the water from a shell upon his head.

⁴ "*Baptismus clinicorum*" (κλινικοί, from κλίνη, bed). *Clinicus* or *grabbatarius* designated one who was baptised on the sick bed.

century; and Cyprian wrote in its defence, taking the ground that the mode of application of water was a matter of minor importance, provided that faith was present in the recipient and ministrant.¹ According to ecclesiastical law clinical baptism at least incapacitated for the clerical office.² Yet the Roman bishop Fabian ordained Novatian a presbyter, though he had been baptized on a sick-bed by aspersion.³

¹ *Ep.* 69 (al. 75), *ad Magnum*. He answered the question as best he could in the absence of any ecclesiastical decision at that time. This Epistle, next to Tertullian's opposition to infant baptism, is the oldest document in the voluminous baptismal literature. Cyprian quotes (ch. 12) several passages from the O. T. where "sprinkling" is spoken of as an act of cleansing (*Ex.* 36: 25, 26; *Num.* 8: 5-7; 19: 8-13), and then concludes: "Whence it appears that sprinkling also of water prevails equally with the salutary washing (*adspersionem quoque aquas instar salutaris lavacri obtinere*); and that when this is done in the church where the faith both of the receiver and the giver is sound (*ubi sit et accipientis et dantis fides integra*), all things hold and may be consummated and perfected by the majesty of the Lord and by the truth of faith." But in the same *Ep.*, Cyprian denies the validity of heretical and schismatic baptism in any form. See below, § 74.

² The twelfth canon of the Council of Neo-Cæsarea (after 314) ordains: "Whosoever has received clinical baptism cannot be promoted to the priesthood, because his [profession of] faith was not from free choice, but from necessity (*ἐξ ἀνάγκης*, fear of death), unless he excel afterwards in zeal and faith, or there is a deficiency of [able] men." This canon passed into the *Corpus jur. can.* c. 1 Dist. 57. See Hefele, *Conciliengesch.*, I. 249 (2nd ed.).

³ Pouring and sprinkling were still exceptional in the ninth century according to Walafrid Strabo (*De Rel. Eccl.*, c. 26), but they made gradual progress with the spread of infant baptism, as the most convenient mode, especially in Northern climates, and came into common use in the West at the end of the thirteenth century. Thomas Aquinas (d. 1274) says, that although it may be safer to baptize by immersion, yet pouring and sprinkling are also allowable (*Summa Theol.* P. III. Qn. LXVI. *De Bapt.* art. 7: in Migne's ed. Tom. IV. fol. 614): "*Si totum corpus aquâ non possit perfundi propter aquæ paucitatem, vel propter aliquam aliam causam, oportet caput perfundere, in quo manifestatur principium animalis vitæ.*" In Ireland aspersion seems to have been practiced very early along with immersion. "Trine immersion, with the alternative of aspersion, is ordered in the earliest extant Irish Baptismal Office, in the composition of which, however, Roman influence is strongly marked." F. E. Warren, *The Liturgy and Ritual of the Celtic Church*, Oxford (Clarendon Press), 1881, p. 65. Prof. Fox (*l. c.* p. 494) and other Baptist writers, think that "neither infant baptism nor the use of pouring and sprinkling for baptism would ever have been thought of but for the superstitious idea that baptism was necessary to salvation." But this idea prevailed among the fathers and

Thanksgiving, benediction, and the brotherly kiss concluded the sacred ceremony.

Besides these essential elements of the baptismal rite, we find, so early as the third century, several other subordinate usages, which have indeed a beautiful symbolical meaning, but, like all redundancies, could easily obscure the original simplicity of this sacrament, as it appears in Justin Martyr's description. Among these appendages are the signing of the cross on the forehead and breast of the subject, as a soldier of Christ under the banner of the cross; giving him milk and honey (also salt) in token of sonship with God, and citizenship in the heavenly Canaan; also the unction of the head, the lighted taper, and the white robe.

Exorcism, or the expulsion of the devil, which is not to be confounded with the essential formula of renunciation, was probably practised at first only in special cases, as of demoniacal possession. But after the council of Carthage, A. D. 256, we find it a regular part of the ceremony of baptism, preceding the baptism proper, and in some cases, it would seem, several times repeated during the course of catechetical instruction. To understand fully this custom, we should remember that the early church derived the whole system of heathen idolatry, which it justly abhorred as one of the greatest crimes,¹ from the agency

in the Greek church fully as much as in the Roman, while it is rejected in most Protestant churches where sprinkling is practiced.

Luther sought to restore immersion, but without effect. Calvin took a similar view of the subject as Thomas Aquinas, but he went farther and declared the mode of application to be a matter of indifference, *Inst.* IV. ch. 15, § 19: "Whether the person who is baptized be wholly immersed (*mergatur totus*), and whether thrice or once, or whether water be only poured (*infusa*) or sprinkled upon him (*aspergatur*), is of no importance (*minimum refert*): but this should be left free to the churches according to the difference of countries. Yet the very word *baptize* signifies to immerse (*mergere*); and it is certain that immersion was the practice of the ancient church." Most Protestants agree with Calvin, except the Baptists, who revived the ancient practice, but only in part (*single* instead of *trine* immersion), and without the patristic ideas of baptismal regeneration, infant baptism, and the necessity of baptism for salvation. They regard baptism as a mere symbol which exhibits the fact that regeneration and conversion have already taken place.

¹ Tertullian calls it "*principale crimen generis humani*" (*De idol.* c. 1), and Cyprian, "*summum delictum*" (*Ep.* x.).

of Satan. The heathen deities, although they had been eminent men during their lives, were, as to their animating principle, identified with demons—either fallen angels or their progeny. These demons, as we may infer from many passages of Justin, Minutius Felix, Tertullian, and others, were believed to traverse the air, to wander over the earth, to deceive and torment the race, to take possession of men, to encourage sacrifices, to lurk in statues, to speak through the oracles, to direct the flights of birds, to work the illusions of enchantment and necromancy, to delude the senses by false miracles, to incite persecution against Christianity, and, in fact, to sustain the whole fabric of heathenism with all its errors and vices. But even these evil spirits were subject to the powerful name of Jesus. Tertullian openly challenges the pagan adversaries to bring demoniacs before the tribunals, and affirms that the spirits which possessed them, would bear witness to the truth of Christianity.

The institution of *sponsors*,¹ first mentioned by Tertullian, arose no doubt from infant baptism, and was designed to secure Christian training, without thereby excusing Christian parents from their duty.

Baptism might be administered at any time, but was commonly connected with Easter and Pentecost, and in the East with Epiphany also, to give it the greater solemnity. The favorite hour was midnight lit up by torches. The men were baptized first, the women afterwards. During the week following, the neophytes wore white garments as symbols of their purity.

Separate chapels for baptism, or BAPTISTERIES, occur first in the fourth century, and many of them still remain in Southern Europe. Baptism might be performed in any place, where, as Justin says, "water was." Yet Cyprian, in the middle of the third century, and the pseudo-Apostolical Constitutions, require the element to be previously consecrated, that it may become the vehicle of the purifying energy of the Spirit. This corresponded to the consecration of the bread and wine in the Lord's Supper, and involved no transformation of the substance.

¹ Ἀνάδοχοι, *sponsors*, *fideijussores*.

§ 71. *The Doctrine of Baptism.*

This ordinance was regarded in the ancient church as the sacrament of the new birth or regeneration, and as the solemn rite of initiation into the Christian Church, admitting to all her benefits and committing to all her obligations. It was supposed to be preceded, in the case of adults, by instruction on the part of the church, and by repentance and faith (*i. e.* conversion) on the part of the candidate, and to complete and seal the spiritual process of regeneration, the old man being buried, and the new man arising from the watery grave. Its effect consists in the forgiveness of sins and the communication of the Holy Spirit. Justin calls baptism "the water-bath for the forgiveness of sins and regeneration," and "the bath of conversion and the knowledge of God." It is often called also illumination, spiritual circumcision, anointing, sealing, gift of grace, symbol of redemption, death of sins, &c.¹ Tertullian describes its effect thus: "When the soul comes to faith, and becomes transformed through regeneration by water and power from above, it discovers, after the veil of the old corruption is taken away, its whole light. It is received into the fellowship of the Holy Spirit; and the soul, which unites itself to the Holy Spirit, is followed by the body." He already leans towards the notion of a magical operation of the baptismal water. Yet the subjective condition of repentance and faith was universally required. Baptism was not only an act of God, but at the same time the most solemn surrender of man to God, a vow for life and death, to live henceforth only to Christ and his people. The keeping of this vow was the condition of continuance in the church; the breaking of it must be followed either by repentance or excommunication.

From John 3: 5 and Mark 16: 16, Tertullian and other

¹ The patristic terms for baptism expressive of doctrine are *ἀναγέννησις*, *παλιγγενεσία* (and *λουτρὸν παλιγγενεσίας*, Tit. 3: 5), *θεογένεσις*, *regeneratio*, *secunda* or *spiritualis natiuitas*, *renascentia*; also *φωτισμός*, *φῶτισμα*, *illuminatio*, *σφραγίς*, *signaculum*, *seal*, *μύησις*, *μυσταγωγία*, *initiation into the mysteries* (the sacraments). The sign was almost identified with the thing itself.

fathers argued the necessity of baptism to salvation. Clement of Alexandria supposed, with the Roman Hermas and others, that even the saints of the Old Testament were baptized in Hades by Christ or the apostles. But exception was made in favor of the bloody baptism of martyrdom as compensating the want of baptism with water; and this would lead to the evangelical principle, that not the omission, but only the contempt of the sacrament, is damning.¹

The effect of baptism, however, was thought to extend only to sins committed before receiving it. Hence the frequent postponement of the sacrament,² which Tertullian very earnestly recommends, though he censures it when accompanied with moral levity and presumption.³ Many, like Constantine the Great, put it off to the bed of sickness and of death. They preferred the risk of dying unbaptized to that of forfeiting forever the baptismal grace. Death-bed baptisms were then what death-bed repentances are now.

But then the question arose, how the forgiveness of sins committed after baptism could be obtained? This is the starting point of the Roman doctrine of the sacrament of *penance*. Tertullian⁴ and Cyprian⁵ were the first to suggest that satisfaction must be made for such sins by self-imposed penitential exercises and good works, such as prayers and almsgiving. Tertullian held seven gross sins, which he denoted mortal sins, to be unpardonable after baptism, and to be left to the uncovenanted mercies of God; but the Catholic church took a milder view, and even received back the adulterers and apostates on their public repentance.

¹ "*Non defectus (or privatio), sed contemptus sacramenti damnat.*" This leaves the door open for the salvation of Quakers, unbaptized children, and elect heathen who die with a desire for salvation.

² *Procrastinatio baptismi.*

³ So the author of the *Apost. Constit.*, VI. 15, disapproves those who say: *ὅτι ὅταν τελειῶ, βαπτίζομαι, ἵνα μὴ ἀμαρτήσω καὶ ὑπανῶ τὸ βάπτισμα.*

⁴ *De Pœnitentia.*

⁵ *De Opere et Eleemosynis.*

NOTES.

In reviewing the patristic doctrine of baptism which was sanctioned by the Greek and Roman, and, with some important modifications, also by the Lutheran and Anglican churches, we should remember that during the first three centuries, and even in the age of Constantine, *adult* baptism was the rule, and that the actual *conversion* of the candidate was required as a condition before administering the sacrament (as is still the case on missionary ground). Hence the preceding catechetical instruction, the renunciation of the devil, and the profession of faith. But when the same high view is applied without qualification to *infant* baptism, we are confronted at once with the difficulty that infants cannot comply with this condition. They may be *regenerated* (this being an act of God), but they cannot be *converted*, i. e. they cannot repent and believe, nor do they need repentance, having not yet committed any actual transgression. Infant baptism is an act of consecration, and looks to subsequent instruction and personal conversion, as a condition to full membership of the church. Hence confirmation came in as a supplement to infant baptism.

The strict Roman Catholic dogma, first clearly enunciated by St. Augustin (though with reluctant heart and in the mildest form), assigns all *unbaptized* infants to hell on the ground of Adam's sin and the absolute necessity of baptism for salvation. A *dogma* horrible, but *falsum*. Christ, who is the truth, blessed *unbaptized* infants, and declared: "To such belongs the kingdom of heaven." The Augsburg Confession (Art. IX.) still teaches against the Anabaptists: "*quod baptismus sit necessarius ad salutem*," but the leading Lutheran divines reduce the absolute necessity of baptism to a relative or ordinary necessity; and the Reformed churches, under the influence of Calvin's teaching, went further by making salvation depend upon divine election, not upon the sacrament, and now generally hold to the salvation of all infants dying in infancy. The Second Scotch Confession (A. D. 1580) was the first to declare its abhorrence of "the cruel [popish] judgment against infants departing without the sacrament," and the doctrine of "the absolute necessity of baptism."

§ 72. *Catechetical Instruction and Confirmation.*

LITERATURE.

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FR. X. FUNK (R. C.): *Die Katechumenats classen des christl. Alterthums*, in the Tübing. "Theol. Quartalschrift," Tüb. 1883, p. 41-77.

1. THE CATECHUMENATE or preparation for baptism was a very important institution of the early church. It dates substantially from apostolic times. Theophilus was "instructed" in the main facts of the gospel history; and Apollos was "instructed" in the way of the Lord.¹ As the church was set in the midst of a heathen world, and addressed herself in her missionary preaching in the first instance to the adult generation, she saw the necessity of preparing the susceptible for baptism by special instruction under teachers called "catechists," who were generally presbyters and deacons.² The catechumenate preceded baptism (of adults); whereas, at a later period, after the general introduction of infant baptism, it followed. It was, on the one hand, a bulwark of the church against unworthy members; on the other, a bridge from the world to the church, a Christian novitiate, to lead beginners forward to maturity. The catechumens or hearers³ were regarded not as unbelievers, but as half-Christians, and were accordingly allowed to attend all the exercises of worship, except the celebration of the sacraments. They embraced people of all ranks, ages, and grades of culture, even philosophers, statesmen, and rhetoricians,—Justin, Athenagoras, Clement of Alexandria, Tertullian, Cyprian, Arnobius, Lactantius, who all embraced Christianity in their adult years.

There was but one or at most two classes of Catechumens. The usual division into three (or four) classes, which is dated from the beginning of the fourth century, rests on confusion with the classes of Penitents.⁴

¹ Luke 1: 4 (κατηχήσθης); Acts 18: 25 (κατηχημένος); comp. Rom. 2: 18; 1 Cor. 14: 19; Gal. 6: 6; Heb. 5: 12. The verb *κατηχέω* means 1) to re-sound; 2) to teach by word of mouth; 3) in Christian writers, to instruct in the elements of religion.

² *Κατηχηταί*, *doctores audientium*. The term designates a function, not a special office or class.

³ *Κατηχούμενοι*, *ἀκροαταί*, *auditores*, *audientes*.

⁴ *Ἀκροόμενοι*, or *audientes*; *γονυκλίνοντες*, or *genuflectentes*; and *φωτιζόμενοι*, or *competentes*. So Ducange, Augusti, Neander, Höfling, Hefele (in the first ed. of his *Concilien-gesch.*, but modified in the second, vol. I. 246, 248), Zezsch-

The catechetical school of Alexandria was particularly renowned for its highly learned character.

The duration of this catechetical instruction was fixed sometimes at two years¹ sometimes at three,² but might be shortened according to circumstances. Persons of decent moral character and general intelligence were admitted to baptism without delay. The Councils allow immediate admission in cases of sickness.

2. CONFIRMATION³ was originally closely connected with baptism, as its positive complement, and was performed by the imposition of hands, and the anointing of several parts of the body with fragrant balsam-oil, the chrism, as it was called. These acts were the medium of the communication of the Holy Spirit, and of consecration to the spiritual priesthood. Later, however, it came to be separated from baptism, especially in the case of infants, and to be regarded as a sacrament by itself. Cyprian is the first to distinguish the baptism with water and the baptism with the Spirit as two sacraments; yet this term, sacrament, was used as yet very indefinitely, and applied to all sacred doctrines and rites.

The Western church, after the third century, restricted the power of confirmation to bishops, on the authority of Acts 8: 17; they alone, as the successors of the apostles, being able to impart the Holy Ghost. The Greek church extended this function to priests and deacons. The Anglican church retains the Latin practice. Confirmation or some form of solemn reception into full communion on personal profession of faith, after proper instruction, was regarded as a necessary supplement to infant baptism, and afterwards as a special sacrament.

witz, Herzog, and many others. Bona and Bingham add even a fourth class (*ἐξωθούμενοι*). But this artificial classification (as Dr. Funk has shown, *l. c.*) arose from a misunderstanding of the fifth canon of Neocæsarea (between 314 and 325), which mentions one *γόνυ κλίνων*, but as representing a class of penitents, not of catechumens. Suicer, Mayer, and Weiss assume but two classes, *audientes* and *competentes*. Funk maintains that the candidates for baptism (*πρωιζόμενοι*, *competentes* or *electi baptizandi*) were already numbered among the faithful (*fideles*), and that there was only one class of catechumens.

¹ Conc. of Elvira, can. 42.

² Const. Apost. VIII. 32.

³ *Ἐφραγίς, χρίσμα, confirmatio, obnatio, signaculum.*

§ 73. *Infant Baptism.*

On INFANT BAPTISM comp. JUST. M.: *Dial. c. Tryph.* Jud. c. 43. IREN.: *Adv. Hær.* II. 22, § 4, compared with III. 17, § 1, and other passages. TERTUL.: *De Baptismo*, c. 18. CYPR.: *Epist. LIX. ad Fidum.* CLEM. ALEX.: *Pædag.* III. 247. ORIG.: *Comm. in Rom. V. Opp.* IV. 565, and *Homil. XIV. in Luc.*

See Lit. in vol. I. 463 sq., especially WALL. Comp. also W. R. POWERS: *Irenæus and Infant Baptism*, in the "Am. Presb. and Theol. Rev." N. Y. 1867, pp. 239-267.

While the church was still a missionary institution in the midst of a heathen world, infant baptism was overshadowed by the baptism of adult proselytes; as, in the following periods, upon the union of church and state, the order was reversed. At that time, too, there could, of course, be no such thing, even on the part of Christian parents, as a *compulsory* baptism, which dates from Justinian's reign, and which inevitably leads to the profanation of the sacrament. Constantine sat among the fathers at the great Council of Nicæa, and gave legal effect to its decrees, and yet put off his baptism to his deathbed. The cases of Gregory of Nazianzum, St. Chrysostom, and St. Augustin, who had mothers of exemplary piety, and yet were not baptized before early manhood, show sufficiently that considerable freedom prevailed in this respect even in the Nicene and post-Nicene ages. Gregory of Nazianzum gives the advice to put off the baptism of children, where there is no danger of death, to their third year.¹

At the same time it seems an almost certain fact, though by many disputed, that, with the baptism of converts, the *optional* baptism of the children of Christian parents in established congregations, comes down from the apostolic age.² Pious parents would naturally feel a desire to consecrate their offspring from the very beginning to the service of the Redeemer, and find a precedent in the ordinance of circumcision. This desire would

¹ *Orat. XL.*

² Comp. I. 469 sq. The fact is not capable of positive proof, but rests on strong probabilities. The Baptists deny it. So does Neander, but he approves the practice of infant baptism as springing from the *spirit* of Christianity.

be strengthened in cases of sickness by the prevailing notion of the necessity of baptism for salvation. Among the fathers, Tertullian himself not excepted—for he combats only its expediency—there is not a single voice against the lawfulness and the apostolic origin of infant baptism. No time can be fixed at which it was first introduced. Tertullian suggests, that it was usually based on the invitation of Christ: "Suffer the little children to come unto me, and forbid them not." The usage of sponsors, to which Tertullian himself bears witness, although he disapproves of it, and still more, the almost equally ancient abuse of infant communion, imply the existence of infant baptism. Heretics also practised it, and were not censured for it.

The apostolic fathers make, indeed, no mention of it. But their silence proves nothing; for they hardly touch upon baptism at all, except Hermas, and he declares it necessary to salvation, even for the patriarchs in Hades (therefore, as we may well infer, for children also). Justin Martyr expressly teaches the capacity of *all* men for spiritual circumcision by baptism; and his "all" can with the less propriety be limited, since he is here speaking to a Jew.¹ He also says that many old men and women of sixty and seventy years of age have been from childhood disciples of Christ.² Polycarp was eighty-six years a Christian, and must have been baptized in early youth. According to Irenæus, his pupil and a faithful bearer of Johannean tradition, Christ passed through all the stages of life, to sanctify them all, and came to redeem, through himself, "all who through him are *born again* unto God, *sucklings, children, boys, youths, and adults.*"³ This profound view seems to involve an

¹ *Dial. c. Tr. c. 43.*

² *Apol. I. c. 15 (Otto I. 48):* Οἱ ἐκ παιδῶν ἐμαθητεύθησαν τῷ Χριστῷ.

³ *Adv. Hæc. II. 22, § 4:* "Omnes venit per semetipsum salutare; omnes, inquam, qui per eum renascuntur in Deum, infantes et parvulos et pueros et juvenes et seniores. Ideo per omnem venit aetatem, et infantibus infans factus, sanctificans infantes; in parvulis parvulus, sanctificans hanc ipsam habentes aetatem; simul et exemplum illis pietatis effectus et justitiæ et subjectionis, in juvenibus juvenis," etc. Neander, in discussing this passage remarks, that "from this idea, founded on what is inmost in Christianity, becoming prominent in the feelings of Christians, resulted the practice of infant baptism" (I. 312, Boston ed.)

acknowledgment not only of the idea of infant baptism, but also of the practice of it; for in the mind of Irenæus and the ancient church baptism and regeneration were intimately connected and almost identified.¹ In an infant, in fact, any regeneration but through baptism cannot be easily conceived. A moral and spiritual regeneration, as distinct from sacramental, would imply conversion, and this is a conscious act of the will, an exercise of repentance and faith, of which the infant is not capable.

In the churches of Egypt infant baptism must have been practised from the first. For, aside from some not very clear expressions of Clement of Alexandria, Origen distinctly derives it from the tradition of the apostles; and through his journeys in the East and West he was well acquainted with the practice of the church in his time.²

¹ Irenæus speaks of "the washing of regeneration," and of the "baptism of regeneration unto God," τὸ βάπτισμα τῆς εἰς θεὸν ἀναγεννήσεως (*Adv. Hæc.* I. c. 21, § 1); he identifies the apostolic commission to baptize with the *potestas regenerationis in Deum* (III. 17, § 1); he says that Christ descending into Hades, regenerated the ancient patriarchs (III. c. 22, § 4: "*in sinum suum recipiens pristinos patres regeneravit eos in vitam Dei*"), by which he probably meant baptism (according to the fancy of Hermas, Clement of Alex., and others). Compare an examination of the various passages of Irenæus in the article by Powers, who comes to the conclusion (l. c. p. 267) that "Irenæus everywhere implies baptism in the regeneration he so often names."

² *In Ep. ad Rom. (Opera, vol. IV. col. 1047 ed. Migne; or IV. 565 ed. Delarue): "Pro hoc et Ecclesia ab apostolis traditionem suscepit, etiam parvulis baptismum dare." In Levit. Hom. VIII. (II. 496 in Migne), he says that "secundum Ecclesiæ observantiam" baptism was given also to children (etiam parvulis). Comp. his Com. in Matt. XV. (III. 1268 sqq.) where he seems to infer this custom from the example of Christ blessing little children. That Origen himself was baptized in childhood (185 or soon after), is nowhere expressly stated in his works (as far as I know), but may be inferred as probable from his descent of, and early religious instruction, by Christian parents (reported by Euseb. *H. E.* VI. 19: τῷ Ὀριγῆναι τὰ τῆς κατὰ Χριστὸν διδασκαλίας ἐκ προγόνων ἐσώζοντο), in connection with the Egyptian custom. Comp. Redepenning, *Origenes*, I. 49. It would certainly be more difficult to prove that he was not baptized in infancy. He could easily make room for infant baptism in his theological system, which involved the Platonic idea of a prehistoric fall of the individual soul. But the Cyprianic and Augustinian theology connected it with the historic fall of Adam, and the consequent hereditary depravity and guilt.*

The only opponent of infant baptism among the fathers is the eccentric and schismatic Tertullian, of North Africa. He condemns the hastening of the innocent age to the forgiveness of sins, and intrusting it with divine gifts, while we would not commit to it earthly property.¹ Whoever considers the solemnity of baptism, will shrink more from the receiving, than from the postponement of it. But the very manner of Tertullian's opposition proves as much in favor of infant baptism as against it. He meets it not as an innovation, but as a prevalent custom; and he meets it not with exegetical nor historical arguments, but only with considerations of religious prudence. His opposition to it is founded on his view of the regenerating effect of baptism, and of the impossibility of having mortal sins forgiven in the church after baptism; this ordinance cannot be repeated, and washes out only the guilt contracted before its reception. On the same ground he advises healthy adults, especially the unmarried, to postpone this sacrament until they shall be no longer in danger of forfeiting forever the grace of baptism by committing adultery, murder, apostasy, or any other of the seven crimes which he calls mortal sins. On the same principle his advice applies only to healthy children, not to sickly ones, if we consider that he held baptism to be the indispensable condition of forgiveness of sins, and taught the doctrine of hereditary sin. With him this position resulted from moral earnestness, and a lively sense of the great solemnity of the baptismal vow. But many put off baptism to their death-bed, in moral levity and presumption, that they might sin as long as they could.

Tertullian's opposition, moreover, had no influence, at least no theoretical influence, even in North Africa. His disciple Cyprian differed from him wholly. In his day it was no question, whether the children of Christian parents might and

¹ "*Quid festinat innocens aetas ad remissionem peccatorum?*" The "*innocens*" here is to be taken only in a relative sense; for Tertullian in other places teaches a *vitium originis*, or hereditary sin and guilt, although not as distinctly and clearly as Augustin.

should be baptized—on this all were agreed,—but whether they might be baptized so early as the second or third day after birth, or, according to the precedent of the Jewish circumcision, on the eighth day. Cyprian, and a council of sixty-six bishops held at Carthage in 253 under his lead, decided for the earlier time, yet without condemning the delay.¹ It was in a measure the same view of the almost magical effect of the baptismal water, and of its absolute necessity to salvation, which led Cyprian to hasten, and Tertullian to postpone the holy ordinance; one looking more at the beneficent effect of the sacrament in regard to past sins, the other at the danger of sins to come.

§ 74. *Heretical Baptism.*

ON HERETICAL BAPTISM comp. EUSEBIUS: *H. E.* VII. 3-5. CYPRIAN: *Epist.* LXX.-LXXXVI. The Acts of the Councils of Carthage, A. D. 255 and 256, and the anonymous tract, *De Rebaptismate*, among CYPRIAN'S works, and in ROUTH'S *Reliquiæ Sacræ*, vol. v. 283-328. HEFELE: *Conciliengeschichte*, I. 117-182 (second ed.). G. E. STEITZ: *Ketzertaufe*, in Herzog, rev. ed., VII. 652-661.

Heretical baptism was, in the third century, the subject of a violent controversy, important also for its bearing on the question of the authority of the Roman see.

Cyprian, whose Epistles afford the clearest information on this subject, followed Tertullian² in rejecting baptism by heretics as an inoperative mock-baptism, and demanded that all heretics coming over to the Catholic church be baptized (he would not say *re*-baptized). His position here was due to his high-church exclusiveness and his horror of schism. As the one Catholic church is the sole repository of all grace, there can be no forgiveness of sins, no regeneration or communication of the Spirit, no salvation, and therefore no valid sacraments, out of her bosom. So far he had logical consistency on his side. But,

¹ A later council of Carthage of the year 418 went further and decreed: "*Item placuit, ut quicumque parvulos recentes ab uteris matrum baptizandos negat . . . anathema sit.*"

² *De Bapt.* c. 15. Comp. also Clement of Alex., *Strom.* I. 375.

on the other hand, he departed from the objective view of the church, as the Donatists afterwards did, in making the efficacy of the sacrament depend on the subjective holiness of the priest. "How can one consecrate water," he asks, "who is himself unholy, and has not the Holy Spirit?" He was followed by the North African church, which, in several councils at Carthage in the years 255-6, rejected heretical baptism; and by the church of Asia Minor, which had already acted on this view, and now, in the person of the Cappadocian bishop Firmilian, a disciple and admirer of the great Origen, vigorously defended it against Rome, using language which is entirely inconsistent with the claims of the papacy.¹

The Roman bishop Stephen (253-257) appeared for the opposite doctrine, on the ground of the ancient practice of his church.² He offered no argument, but spoke with the consciousness of authority, and followed a catholic instinct. He laid chief stress on the objective nature of the sacrament, the virtue of which depended neither on the officiating priest, nor on the receiver, but solely on the institution of Christ. Hence he considered heretical baptism valid, provided only it was administered with intention to baptize and in the right form, to wit, in the name of the Trinity, or even of Christ alone; so that heretics coming into the church needed only confirmation, or the ratification of baptism by the Holy Ghost. "Heresy," says he, "produces children and exposes them; and the church takes up the exposed children, and nourishes them as her own, though she herself has not brought them forth."

The doctrine of Cyprian was the more consistent from the

¹ See p. 162. Some Roman divines (Molkenkuhr and Tizzani, as quoted by Hefele, p. 121) thought that such an irreverent Epistle as that of Firmilian (the 75th among Cyprian's Epp.) cannot be historical, and that the whole story of the controversy between Pope Stephen and St. Cyprian must be a fabrication! Dogma versus facts.

² According to Hippolytus (*Philosoph.*), the rebaptism of heretics was unknown before Callistus, A. D. 218-223. Cyprian does not deny the antiquity of the Roman custom, but pleads that truth is better than custom ("*quasi consuetudo major sit veritate*"). Hefele, I. p. 121. The Epistles of Stephen are lost, and we must learn his position from his opponents.

hierarchical point of view; that of Stephen, from the sacramental. The former was more logical, the latter more practical and charitable. The one preserved the principle of the exclusiveness of the church; the other, that of the objective force of the sacrament, even to the borders of the *opus operatum* theory. Both were under the direction of the same churchly spirit, and the same hatred of heretics; but the Roman doctrine is after all a happy inconsistency of liberality, an inroad upon the principle of absolute exclusiveness, an involuntary concession, that baptism, and with it the remission of sin and regeneration, therefore salvation, are possible outside of Roman Catholicism.¹

The controversy itself was conducted with great warmth. Stephen, though advocating the liberal view, showed the genuine papal arrogance and intolerance. He would not even admit to his presence the deputies of Cyprian, who brought him the decree of the African synod, and he called this bishop, who in every respect excelled Stephen, and whom the Roman church now venerates as one of her greatest saints, a false Christ and false apostle.² He broke off all intercourse with the African church, as he had already with the Asiatic. But Cyprian and Firmilian, nothing daunted, vindicated with great boldness, the latter also with bitter vehemence, their different view, and continued in it to their death. The Alexandrian bishop Dionysius endeavored to reconcile the two parties, but with little success. The Valerian persecution, which soon ensued, and the martyrdom of Stephen (257) and of Cyprian (258), suppressed this internal discord.

In the course of the fourth century, however, the Roman theory gradually gained on the other, received the sanction

¹ Unless it be maintained that the baptismal grace, if received outside of the Catholic communion, is of no use, but rather increases the guilt (like the knowledge of the heathen), and becomes available only by the subjective conversion and regular confirmation of the heretic. This was the view of Augustin; see Steitz, *l. c.*, p. 655 sq.

² "*Pseudochristum, pseudoapostolum, et dolosum operarium.*" Firmil. *Ad Cyp.* towards the end (*Ep.* 75). Hefele (I. 120) calls this unchristian intolerance of Stephen very mildly "*eine grosse Unfreundlichkeit.*"

of the œcumenical Council of Nicæa in 325, was adopted in North Africa during the Donatistic controversies, by a Synod of Carthage, 348, defended by the powerful dialectics of St. Augustin against the Donatists, and was afterwards confirmed by the Council of Trent with an anathema on the opposite view.

NOTE.

The Council of Trent declares (*Sessio Sept.*, March 3, 1547, canon 4): "If any one says that the baptism, which is even given by heretics in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, with the intention of doing what the church doth, is not true baptism: let him be anathema." The Greek church likewise forbids the repetition of baptism which has been performed in the name of the Holy Trinity, but requires trine immersion. See the *Orthodox Conf. Quaest. CII.* (in Schaff's *Creeds* II. 376), and the *Russian Catch.* (II. 493), which says: "Baptism is spiritual birth: a man is born but once, therefore he is also baptized but once." But the same Catechism declares "trine immersion" to be "most essential in the administration of baptism" (II. 491).

The Roman church, following the teaching of St. Augustin, bases upon the validity of heretical and schismatical baptism even a certain legal claim on all baptized persons, as virtually belonging to her communion, and a right to the forcible conversion of heretics under favorable circumstances.¹ But as there may be some doubt about the orthodox form and intention of heretical baptism in the mind of the convert (*e. g.* if he be a Unitarian), the same church allows a *conditional* rebaptism with the formula: "*If thou art not yet baptized, I baptize thee,*" etc.

Evangelical creeds put their recognition of Roman Catholic or any other Christian baptism not so much on the theory of the objective virtue of the sacrament, as on a more comprehensive and liberal conception of the church. Where Christ is, there is the church, and there are true ordinances. The Baptists alone, among Protestants, deny the validity of any other baptism but by immersion (in this respect resembling the Greek church), but are very far on that account from denying the Christian status of other denominations, since baptism with them is only a *sign* (not a *means*) of regeneration or conversion, which *precedes* the rite and is independent of it.

¹ Augustin thus misinterpreted the "*Coge intrare,*" Luke 14: 22, 23, as justifying persecution (*Ep. ad Bonifac.*, c. 6). If the holy bishop of Hippo had foreseen the fearful consequences of his exegesis, he would have shrunk from it in horror.

CHAPTER VI.

CHRISTIAN ART.

§ 75. *Literature.*

Comp. the Lit. on the Catacombs, ch. VII.

- FR. MÜNTER: *Sinnbilder u. Kunstvorstellungen der alten Christen.* Altona, 1825.
- GRÜNEISEN: *Ueber die Ursachen des Kunsthasses in den drei ersten Jahrhunderten.* Stuttg. 1831.
- HELMSDÖRFER: *Christl. Kunstsymbolik u. Ikonographie.* Frkf. 1839.
- F. PIPER: *Mythologie u. Symbolik der christl. Kunst.* 2 vols. Weimar, 1847-51. *Ueber den christl. Bilderkreis.* Berl. 1852 (p. 3-10). By the same: *Einleitung in die monumentale Theologie.* Gotha, 1867.
- J. B. DE ROSSI (R. C.): *De Christianis monumentis ixth exhibentibus*, in the third volume of PITRA's "*Spicilegium Solesmense.*" Paris, 1855. Also his great work on the Roman Catacombs (*Roma Sotteranea*, 1864-1867), and his Archæol. "Bulletin" (*Bullatino di Archeologia cristiana*, since 1863).
- A. WELBY PUGIN (architect and Prof. of Eccles. Antiquities at Oscott, a convert to the R. C. Ch., d. 1852): *Glossary of Ecclesiastical Ornament and Costume.* Lond. 1844, 4°, third ed. 1868, revised and enlarged by B. Smith, with 70 plates. See the art. "Cross."
- P. RAFFAELLE GARRUCCI (Jesuit): *Storia della Arte Cristiana nei primi otto secoli della chiesa.* Prato, 1872-'80, 6 vols. fol., with 500 magnificent plates and illustrations. A most important work, but intensely Romish. By the same: *Il crocifisso graffito in casa dei Cesari.* Rom. 1857.
- FR. BECKER: *Die Darstellung Jesu Christi unter dem Bilde des Fisches auf den Monumenten der Kirche der Katakomben, erläutert.* Breslau, 1866. The same: *Das Spott-Crucifix der römischen Kaiserpaläste aus dem Anfang des dritten Jahrh.* Breslau, 1866 (44 pp.). The same: *Die Wand- und Deckengemälde der röm. Katakomben.* Gera, 1876.
- Abbé JOS. AL. MARTIGNY: *Diction. des Antiquités Chrétienues.* Paris, 1865, second ed., 1877. (With valuable illustrations).
- F. X. KRAUS (R. C.): *Die christl. Kunst in ihren frühesten Anfängen.* Leipzig, 1873 (219 pages and 58 woodcuts). Also several articles in his "Real-Encyklop. der christl. Alterthümer," Freiburg i. B. 1880 sqq. (The cuts mostly from Martigny).

JOH. NEP. DIEFOLDER (B. C.): *Theologie und Kunst im Urchristenthum*. Augsburg, 1882 (94 pages).

§ 76. *Origin of Christian Art.*

CHRISTIANITY owed its origin neither to art nor to science, and is altogether independent of both. But it penetrates and pervades them with its heaven-like nature, and inspires them with a higher and nobler aim. Art reaches its real perfection in worship, as an embodiment of devotion in beautiful forms, which afford a pure pleasure, and at the same time excite and promote devotional feeling. Poetry and music, the most free and spiritual arts, which present their ideals in word and tone, and lead immediately from the outward form to the spiritual substance, were an essential element of worship in Judaism, and passed thence, in the singing of psalms, into the Christian church.

Not so with the plastic arts of sculpture and painting, which employ grosser material—stone, wood, color—as the medium of representation, and, with a lower grade of culture, tend almost invariably to abuse when brought in contact with worship. Hence the strict prohibition of these arts by the Monotheistic religions. The Mohammedans follow in this respect the Jews; their mosques are as bare of images of living beings as the synagogues, and they abhor the image worship of Greek and Roman Christians as a species of idolatry.

The ante-Nicene church, inheriting the Mosaic decalogue, and engaged in deadly conflict with heathen idolatry, was at first averse to those arts. Moreover her humble condition, her contempt for all hypocritical show and earthly vanity, her enthusiasm for martyrdom, and her absorbing expectation of the speedy destruction of the world and establishment of the millennial kingdom, made her indifferent to the ornamental part of life. The rigorous Montanists, in this respect the forerunners of the Puritans, were most hostile to art. But even the highly cultivated Clement of Alexandria put the spiritual worship of God in sharp contrast to the pictorial representation of the divine. "The habit of daily view," he says, "lowers the dig-

nity of the divine, which cannot be honored, but is only degraded, by sensible material."

Yet this aversion to art seems not to have extended to mere symbols such as we find even in the Old Testament, as the brazen serpent and the cherubim in the temple. At all events, after the middle or close of the second century we find the rude beginnings of Christian art in the form of significant symbols in the private and social life of the Christians, and afterwards in public worship. This is evident from Tertullian and other writers of the third century, and is abundantly confirmed by the Catacombs, although the age of their earliest pictorial remains is a matter of uncertainty and dispute.

The origin of these symbols must be found in the instinctive desire of the Christians to have visible tokens of religious truth, which might remind them continually of their Redeemer and their holy calling, and which would at the same time furnish them the best substitute for the signs of heathen idolatry. For every day they were surrounded by mythological figures, not only in temples and public places, but in private houses, on the walls, floors, goblets, seal-rings, and grave-stones. Innocent and natural as this effort was, it could easily lead, in the less intelligent multitude, to confusion of the sign with the thing signified, and to many a superstition. Yet this result was the less apparent in the first three centuries, because in that period artistic works were mostly confined to the province of symbol and allegory.

From the private recesses of Christian homes and catacombs artistic representations of holy things passed into public churches in the fourth century, but under protest which continued for a long time and gave rise to the violent image controversies which were not settled until the second Council of Nicæa (787), in favor of a limited image worship. The Spanish Council of Elvira (Granada) in 306 first raised such a protest, and prohibited (in the thirty-sixth canon) "*pictures in the church (picturas in ecclesia)*, lest the objects of veneration and worship should be depicted on the walls." This sounds almost iconoclastic and puritanic; but in view of the numerous ancient pic-

tures and sculptures in the catacombs, the prohibition must be probably understood as a temporary measure of expediency in that transition period.¹

§ 77. *The Cross and the Crucifix.*

*"Religion des Kreuzes, nur du verknüpfest in Einem Kranze
Der Demuth und Kraft doppelte Palme zugleich."*—(SCHILLER).*

Comp. the works quoted in § 75, and the lists in Zöckler and Fulda.

JUSTUS LIPSIUS (R. C., d. 1606, as Prof. at Louvain): *De Cruce libri tres, ad sacram profanamque historiam utiles.* Antw., 1595, and later editions.

JAC. GRETSEB (Jesuit): *De Cruce Christi rebusque ad eam pertinentibus.* Ingolst., 1598–1605, 3 vols. 4to; 3rd ed. revised, 1608; also in his *Opera*, Ratisb., 1734, Tom. I.–III.

WM. HASLAM: *The Cross and the Serpent: being a brief History of the Triumph of the Cross.* Oxford, 1849.

W. R. ALGER: *History of the Cross.* Boston, 1858.

GABR. DE MORTILLET: *Le Signe de la Croix avant le Christianisme.* Paris, 1866.

A. CH. A. ZESTERMANN: *Die bildliche Darstellung des Kreuzes und der Kreuzigung historisch entwickelt.* Leipzig, 1867 and 1868.

J. STOCKBAUER (R. C.): *Kunstgeschichte des Kreuzes.* Schaffhausen, 1870.

O. ZÖCKLER (Prof. in Greifswald): *Das Kreuz Christi. Religionshistorische und kirchlich-archæologische Untersuchungen.* Gütersloh, 1875 (484 pages, with a large list of works, pp. xiii.–xxiv.). English translation by M. G. Evans, Lond., 1878.

ERNST V. BUNSEN: *Das Symbol des Kreuzes bei allen Nationen und die Entstehung des Kreuzsymbols der christlichen Kirche.* Berlin, 1876. (Full of hypotheses.)

HERMANN FULDA: *Das Kreuz und die Kreuzigung. Eine antiquarische Untersuchung.* Breslau, 1878. Polemical against the received views since Lipsius. See a full list of literature in Fulda, pp. 299–328.

E. DOBBERT: *Zur Entstehungsgeschichte des Kreuzes,* Leipzig, 1880.

The oldest and dearest, but also the most abused, of the primitive Christian symbols is the CROSS, the sign of redemption, sometimes alone, sometimes with the Alpha and Omega, sometimes with the anchor of hope or the palm of peace. Upon this arose, as early as the second century, the custom of making the

¹ See above, p. 180.

* "*Der deutschen Muse schönstes Distichon.*"

sign of the cross¹ on rising, bathing, going out, eating, in short, on engaging in any affairs of every-day life; a custom probably attended in many cases, even in that age, with superstitious confidence in the magical virtue of this sign; hence Tertullian found it necessary to defend the Christians against the heathen charge of worshipping the cross (*staurolatria*).²

Cyprian and the Apostolical Constitutions mention the sign of the cross as a part of the baptismal rite, and Lactantius speaks of it as effective against the demons in the baptismal exorcism. Prudentius recommends it as a preservative against temptations and bad dreams. We find as frequently, particularly upon ornaments and tombs, the monogram of the name of Christ, X P, usually combined in the cruciform character, either alone, or with the Greek letters Alpha and Omega, "the first and the last;" in later cases with the addition: "In the sign."³ Soon after Constantine's victory over Maxentius by the aid of the Labarum (312), crosses were seen on helmets, bucklers, standards, crowns, sceptres, coins and seals, in various forms.⁴

¹ *Signaculum* or *signum crucis*.

² *Apol.* c. 16; *Ad Nat.* I. 12. Julian the Apostate raised the same charge against the Christians of his day.

³ "*In signo*," i. e. "*In hoc signo vinces*," the motto of Constantine.

⁴ Archaeologists distinguish seven or more forms of the cross:

- (a) *crux decussata* (St. Andrew's cross), X
- (b) *crux commissa* (the Egyptian cross), T
- (c) *crux immissa* or *ordinaria* (the upright Latin cross), +
- (d) The inverted Latin cross of St. Peter, who considered himself unworthy to suffer in the upright position like his Lord, -|
- (e) The Greek cross, consisting of four equally long arms, +
- (f) The double cross, =|
- (g) The triple cross (used by the Pope), ≡|

The chief forms of the monogram are:



The story of the miraculous invention and raising of the true cross of Christ by Helena, the mother of Constantine, belongs to the Nicene age. The connection of the cross with the α and ω arose from the Apocalyptic designation of Christ (Rev. 1: 8; 21: 6; 22: 13), which is thus explained by Prudentius (*Cathem. hymn.* IX. 10-12):

The cross was despised by the heathen Romans on account of the crucifixion, the disgraceful punishment of slaves and the worst criminals; but the Apologists reminded them of the unconscious recognition of the salutary sign in the form of their standards and triumphal symbols, and of the analogies in nature, as the form of man with the outstretched arm, the flying bird, and the sailing ship.¹ Nor was the symbolical use of the cross confined to the Christian church, but is found among the ancient Egyptians, the Buddhists in India, and the Mexicans before the conquest, and other heathen nations, both as a symbol of blessing and a symbol of curse.²

The cross and the Lord's Prayer may be called the greatest martyrs in Christendom. Yet both the superstitious abuse and the puritanic protest bear a like testimony to the significance of the great fact of which it reminds us.

The CRUCIFIX, that is the sculptured or carved representation of our Saviour attached to the cross, is of much later date, and cannot be clearly traced beyond the middle of the sixth cen-

*"Alpha et Omega cognominatus; ipse fons et clausula,
Omnia quæ sunt, fuerunt, quæque post futura sunt."*

¹ Minut. Felix, Octav. c. 29: "*Tropea vestra victricia non tantum simplicis crucis faciem, verum etiam adfixi hominis imitantur. Signum sane crucis naturaliter visimus in navi, cum velis tumentibus vehitur, cum expansis palmulis labitur; et cum erigitur jugum, crucis signum est; et cum homo porrectis manibus Deum pura mente veneratur. Ita signo crucis aut ratio naturalis innititur, aut vestra religio formatur.*" Comp. a very similar passage in Tertul., *Apol.* c. 16; and *Ad Nat.* I. 12; also Justin M., *Apol.* I. 55.

² When the temple of Serapis was destroyed (A. D. 390), signs of the cross were found beneath the hieroglyphics, and heathen and Christians referred it to their religion. Socrates, *H. E.* V. 17; Sozomenus, VII. 15; Theodoret, V. 22. On the Buddhist cross see Medhurst, *China*, p. 217. At the discovery of Mexico the Spaniards found the sign of the cross as an object of worship in the idol temples at Anahuac. Prescott, *Conquest of Mexico*, III. 338-340. See on the heathen use of the Cross, Haslam, Mortillet, Zöckler (*l. c.*, 7 sqq.), and Brinton, *Myths of the New World*; also an article on "*The pre-Christian Cross*," in the "*Edinburgh Review*," Jan. 1870. Zöckler says (p. 95): "*Aller Fluch und Segen, alles Todeselend und alle Lebensherrlichkeit, die durch die vorchristliche Menschheit ausgebreitet gewesen, erscheinen in dem Kreuze auf Golgatha concentrirt zum wundervollsten Gebilde der religiös sittlichen Entwicklung unseres Geschlechtes.*"

ture. It is not mentioned by any writer of the Nicene and Chalcedonian age. One of the oldest known crucifixes, if not the very oldest, is found in a richly illuminated Syriac copy of the Gospels in Florence from the year 586.¹ Gregory of Tours (d. 595) describes a crucifix in the church of St. Genesius, in Narbonne, which presented the crucified One almost entirely naked.² But this gave offence, and was veiled, by order of the bishop, with a curtain, and only at times exposed to the people. The Venerable Bede relates that a crucifix, bearing on one side the Crucified, on the other the serpent lifted up by Moses, was brought from Rome to the British cloister of Weremouth in 686.³

NOTE.

The first symbol of the crucifixion was the cross alone; then followed the cross and the lamb—either the lamb with the cross on the head or shoulder, or the lamb fastened on the cross; then the figure of Christ in connection with the cross—either Christ holding it in his right hand (on the sarcophagus of Probus, d. 395), or Christ with the cross in the background (in the church of St. Pudentiana, built 398); at last Christ nailed to the cross.

An attempt has been made to trace the crucifixes back to the third or second century, in consequence of the discovery, in 1857, of a mock-crucifix on the wall in the ruins of the imperial palaces on the western declivity of the Palatine hill in Rome, which is preserved in the Museo Kircheriano. It shows the figure of a crucified man with the head of an ass or a horse, and a human figure kneeling before it, with the inscription: "Alexamenos worships his God."⁴ This figure was no doubt scratched on the wall by some heathen enemy to ridicule a Christian slave or page of the imperial household, or possibly even the emperor Alexander Severus (222-235), who, by his religious syncretism, exposed himself to sarcastic criticism. The date of the caricature is uncertain; but we know that in the second century the Christians, like the Jews

¹ See Becker, l. c., p. 38, Westwood's *Palæographia Sacra*, and Smith and Cheetham, I. 515.

² "*Pictura, quæ Dominum nostrum quasi præcinctum linteo indicat crucifixum.*" *De Gloria Martyrum*, lib. I. c. 28.

³ *Opera*, ed. Giles, iv. p. 376. A crucifix is found in an Irish MS. written about 800. See Westwood, as quoted in Smith and Cheetham, I. 516.

⁴ Ἀλεξάμενος εἶπεν [αἱ] θεόν. The monument was first published by the Jesuit Garrucci, and is fully discussed by Becker in the essay quoted. A woodcut is also given in Smith and Cheetham, I. 516.

before them, were charged with the worship of an ass, and that at that time there were already Christians in the imperial palace.¹ After the third century this silly charge disappears. Roman archaeologists (P. Garrucci, P. Mozzoni, and Martigny) infer from this mock-crucifix that crucifixes were in use among Christians already at the close of the second century, since the original precedes the caricature. But this conjecture is not supported by any evidence. The heathen Cæcilius in Minucius Felix (ch. 10) expressly testifies the absence of Christian *simulacra*. As the oldest pictures of Christ, so far as we know, originated not among the orthodox Christians, but among the heretical and half heathenish Gnostics, so also the oldest known representation of the *crucifix* was a mock-picture from the hand of a heathen—an excellent illustration of the word of Paul that the preaching of Christ crucified is foolishness to the Greeks.

§ 78. *Other Christian Symbols.*

The following symbols, borrowed from the Scriptures, were frequently represented in the catacombs, and relate to the virtues and duties of the Christian life: The dove, with or without the olive branch, the type of simplicity and innocence;² the ship, representing sometimes the church, as safely sailing through the flood of corruption, with reference to Noah's ark, sometimes the individual soul on its voyage to the heavenly home under the conduct of the storm-controlling Saviour; the palm-branch, which the seer of the Apocalypse puts into the hands of the elect, as the sign of victory;³ the anchor, the figure of hope;⁴ the lyre, denoting festal joy and sweet harmony;⁵ the cock, an admonition to watchfulness, with reference to Peter's fall;⁶ the hart which pants for the fresh water-brooks;⁷ and the vine which, with its branches and clusters, illustrates the union of

¹ Comp. on the supposed *bovolarpela* of the Christians, Tertullian, *Apol.* c. 16 ("Nam et somniastis caput asininum esse Deum nostrum," etc.); *Ad nationes* I. 11, 14; Minut. Felix, *Octav.* 9. Tertullian traces this absurdity to Cornelius Tacitus, who charges it upon the Jews (*Hist.* V. 4).

² Comp. Matt. 3: 16; 10: 16; Gen. 8: 11; Cant. 6: 9.

³ Rev. 7: 9. The palm had a similar significance with the heathen. Horace writes (*Od.* I. 1): "*Palmaque nobilis Terrarum dominos evexit ad deos.*"

⁴ Heb. 6: 19. Likewise among the heathen.

⁵ Comp. Eph. 5: 19.

⁶ Matt. 26: 34, and parallel passages.

⁷ Ps. 42: 1.

the Christians with Christ according to the parable, and the richness and joyfulness of Christian life.¹

The phenix, a symbol of rejuvenation and of the resurrection, is derived from the well-known heathen myth.²

§ 79. *Historical and Allegorical Pictures.*

From these emblems there was but one step to iconographic representations. The Bible furnished rich material for historical, typical, and allegorical pictures, which are found in the catacombs and ancient monuments. Many of them date from the third or even the second century.

The favorite pictures from the Old Testament are Adam and Eve, the rivers of Paradise, the ark of Noah, the sacrifice of Isaac, the passage through the Red Sea, the giving of the law, Moses smiting the rock, the deliverance of Jonah, Jonah naked under the gourd, the translation of Elijah, Daniel in the lions' den, the three children in the fiery furnace. Then we have scenes from the Gospels, and from apostolic and post-apostolic history, such as the adoration of the Magi, their meeting with Herod, the baptism of Jesus in the Jordan, the healing of the paralytic, the changing of water into wine, the miraculous feeding of five thousand, the ten virgins, the resurrection of Lazarus, the entry into Jerusalem, the Holy Supper, the portraits of St. Peter and St. Paul.³

¹ John 15: 1-6. The parables of the Good Shepherd, and of the Vine and the Branches, both recorded only by St. John, seem to have been the most prominent in the mind of the primitive Christians, as they are in the catacombs. "What they valued" (says Stanley, *Christ. Inst.*, p. 288), "what they felt, was a new moral influence, a new life stealing through their veins, a new health imparted to their frames, a new courage breathing in their faces, like wine to a weary laborer, like sap in the hundred branches of a spreading tree, like juice in the thousand clusters of a spreading vine." But more important than this was the idea of vital union of the believers with Christ and among each other, symbolized by the vine and its branches.

² The fabulous phenix is nowhere mentioned in the Bible, and is first used by Clement of Rome, *Ad Cor.* c. 25, and by Tertullian, *De Resurr.* c. 13. Comp. Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* XIII. 4.

³ For details the reader is referred to the great illustrated works of Perret, De Rossi, Garrucci, Parker, Roller, Northcote and Brownlow, etc.

The passion and crucifixion were never represented in the early monuments, except by the symbol of the cross.

Occasionally we find also mythological representations, as Psyche with wings, and playing with birds and flowers (an emblem of immortality), Hercules, Theseus, and especially Orpheus, who with his magic song quieted the storm and tamed the wild beasts.

Perhaps Gnosticism had a stimulating effect in art, as it had in theology. At all events the sects of the Carpocratians, the Basilideans, and the Manichaeans cherished art. Nationality also had something to do with this branch of life. The Italians are by nature an artistic people, and shaped their Christianity accordingly. Therefore Rome is preëminently the home of Christian art.

The earliest pictures in the catacombs are artistically the best, and show the influence of classic models in the beauty and grace of form. From the fourth century there is a rapid decline to rudeness and stiffness, and a transition to the Byzantine type.

Some writers¹ have represented this primitive Christian art merely as pagan art in its decay, and even the Good Shepherd as a copy of Apollo or Hermes. But while the form is often an imitation, the spirit is altogether different, and the myths are understood as unconscious prophecies and types of Christian verities, as in the Sibylline books. The relation of Christian art to mythological art somewhat resembles the relation of biblical Greek to classical Greek. Christianity could not at once invent a new art any more than a new language, but it emancipated the old from the service of idolatry and immorality, filled it with a deeper meaning, and consecrated it to a higher aim.

The blending of classical reminiscences and Christian ideas is best embodied in the beautiful symbolic pictures of the Good Shepherd and of Orpheus.²

The former was the most favorite figure, not only in the Catacombs, but on articles of daily use, as rings, cups, and

¹ Raoul-Rochette (*Mémoires sur les antiquités chrétiennes*; and *Tableau des Catacombes*), and Renan (*Marc-Aurèle*, p. 542 sqq.).

² See the illustrations at the end of the volume.

lamps. Nearly one hundred and fifty such pictures have come down to us. The Shepherd, an appropriate symbol of Christ, is usually represented as a handsome, beardless, gentle youth, in light costume, with a girdle and sandals, with the flute and pastoral staff, carrying a lamb on his shoulder, standing between two or more sheep that look confidently up to him. Sometimes he feeds a large flock on green pastures. If this was the popular conception of Christ, it stood in contrast with the contemporaneous theological idea of the homely appearance of the Saviour, and anticipated the post-Constantinian conception.

The picture of Orpheus is twice found in the cemetery of Domitilla, and once in that of Callistus. One on the ceiling in Domitilla, apparently from the second century, is especially rich: it represents the mysterious singer, seated in the centre on a piece of rock, playing on the lyre his enchanting melodies to wild and tame animals—the lion, the wolf, the serpent, the horse, the ram—at his feet—and the birds in the trees;¹ around the central figure are several biblical scenes, Moses smiting the rock, David aiming the sling at Goliath (?), Daniel among the lions, the raising of Lazarus. The heathen Orpheus, the reputed author of monotheistic hymns (the Orphica), the centre of so many mysteries, the fabulous charmer of all creation, appears here either as a symbol and type of Christ himself,² or rather, like the heathen Sibyl, as an antitype and unconscious prophet of Christ, announcing and foreshadowing Him as the conqueror of all the forces of nature, as the harmonizer of all discords, and as ruler over life and death.

§ 80. *Allegorical Representations of Christ.*

Pictures of Christ came into use slowly and gradually, as the conceptions concerning his personal appearance changed. The

¹ Comp. Horace, *De Arte Poët.*, 391 sqq.

*Silvestres homines sacer interpretisque deorum
Cædibus et victu fædo deterruit Orpheus,
Dictus ob hoc lenire tigres rabidosque leones.*

² This is the explanation of nearly all archæologists since Bosio, except Schultze (*Die Katak.*, p. 105).

Evangelists very wisely keep profound silence on the subject, and no ideal which human genius may devise, can do justice to Him who was God manifest in the flesh.

In the ante-Nicene age the strange notion prevailed that our Saviour, in the state of his humiliation, was homely, according to a literal interpretation of the Messianic prophecy: "He hath no form nor comeliness."¹ This was the opinion of Justin Martyr,² Tertullian,³ and even of the spiritualistic Alexandrian divines Clement,⁴ and Origen.⁵ A true and healthy feeling leads rather to the opposite view; for Jesus certainly had not the physiognomy of a sinner, and the heavenly purity and harmony of his soul must in some way have shone through the veil of his flesh, as it certainly did on the Mount of Transfiguration. Physical deformity is incompatible with the Old Testament idea of the priesthood, how much more with the idea of the Messiah.

Those fathers, however, had the state of humiliation alone in their eye. The exalted Redeemer they themselves viewed as clothed with unfading beauty and glory, which was to pass from Him, the Head, to his church also, in her perfect millennial state.⁶ We have here, therefore, not an essential opposition

¹ Isa. 53: 2, 3; 52: 14; comp. Ps. 22.

² *Dial. c. Tryphone Judæo* c. 14 (εις την πρώτην παρουσίαν τοῦ Χριστοῦ, ἐν ᾧ καὶ ἄτιμος καὶ ἀειδής καὶ θνητὸς φανήσεσθαι κεκηρυγμένος ἐστίν); c. 49 (παθὴρ καὶ ἄτιμος καὶ ἡειδής); 85, 88, 100, 110, 121.

³ *Adv. Jud.* c. 14: "ne aspectu quidem honestus," and then he quotes Isa. 53: 2 sqq.; 8: 14; Ps. 22. *De carne Christi*, c. 9: "nec humanæ honestatis corpus fuit, nedum celestis claritatis."

⁴ *Paedag.* III. 1, p. 252; *Strom.* lib. II. c. 5, p. 440; III. c. 17, p. 559; VI. c. 17, p. 818 (ed. Potter).

⁵ *Contr. Cels.* VI. c. 75, where Origen quotes from Celsus that Christ's person did not differ from others in grandeur or beauty or strength, but was, as the Christians report, "little, ill favored and ignoble" (τὸ πῶμα μικρὸν καὶ δυσειδὲς καὶ ἀγενὲς ἦν). He admits the "ill-favored," but denies the "ignoble," and doubts the "little," of which there is no certain evidence. He then quotes the language of Isaiah 53, but adds the description of Ps. 45: 3, 4 (Sept.), which represents the Messiah as a king arrayed in beauty. Celsus used this false tradition of the supposed uncomeliness of Jesus as an argument against his divinity, and an objection to the Christian religion.

⁶ Comp. Tertullian, *Adv. Jud.* c. 14 (*Opera*, ed. Oehler II. 740), where he

made between holiness and beauty, but only a temporary separation. Nor did the ante-Nicene fathers mean to deny that Christ, even in the days of his humiliation, had a spiritual beauty which captivated susceptible souls. Thus Clement of Alexandria distinguishes between two kinds of beauty, the outward beauty of the flesh, which soon fades away, and the beauty of the soul, which consists in moral excellence and is permanent. "That the Lord Himself," he says, "was uncomely in aspect, the Spirit testifies by Isaiah: 'And we saw Him, and he had no form nor comeliness; but his form was mean, inferior to men.' Yet who was more admirable than the Lord? But it was not the beauty of the flesh visible to the eye, but the true beauty of both soul and body, which He exhibited, which in the former is beneficence; in the latter—that is, the flesh—immortality."¹ Chrysostom went further: he understood Isaiah's description to refer merely to the scenes of the passion, and took his idea of the personal appearance of Jesus from the forty-fifth Psalm, where he is represented as "fairer than the children of men." Jerome and Augustin had the same view, but there was at that time no authentic picture of Christ, and the imagination was left to its own imperfect attempts to set forth that human face divine which reflected the beauty of sinless holiness.

The first representations of Christ were purely *allegorical*. He appears now as a shepherd, who lays down his life for the

quotes Dan. 7: 13 sq., and Ps. 45: 3, 4, for the heavenly beauty and glory of the exalted Saviour, and says: "*Primo sordibus indutus est, id est carnis passibilis et mortalis indignitate dehinc spoliatus pristina sorde, exornatus potere et mitra et cidari munda, id est secundi adventus; quoniam gloriam et honorem adeptus demonstratur.*" Justin Martyr makes the same distinction between the humility of the first and the glory of the second appearance. *Dial. c. Tryph. Jud. c. 14 and c. 49, etc.* So does Origen in the passage just quoted.

¹ *Paedag.* lib. III. c. 1, which treats of true beauty. Compare also the last chapter in the second book, which is directed against the extravagant fondness of females for dress and jewels, and contrasts with these meretricious ornaments the true beauty of the soul, which "blossoms out in the flesh, exhibiting the amiable comeliness of self-control, whenever the character, like a beam of light, gleams in the form."

sheep,¹ or carries the lost sheep on his shoulders;² now as a lamb, who bears the sin of the world;³ more rarely as a ram, with reference to the substituted victim in the history of Abraham and Isaac;⁴ frequently as a fisher.⁵ Clement of Alexandria, in his hymn, calls Christ the "Fisher of men that are saved, who with his sweet life catches the pure fish out of the hostile flood in the sea of iniquity."

The most favorite symbol seems to have been that of the fish. It was the double symbol of the Redeemer and the redeemed. The corresponding Greek *ICHTHYS* is a pregnant anagram, containing the initials of the words: "Jesus Christ, Son of God, Saviour."⁶ In some pictures the mysterious fish is swimming in the water with a plate of bread and a cup of wine on his back, with evident allusion to the Lord's Supper. At the same time the fish represented the soul caught in the net of the great Fisher of men and his servants, with reference to Matt. 4: 19; comp. 13: 47. Tertullian connects the symbol with the water of baptism, saying:⁷ "We little fishes (*pisciculi*) are born by our Fish (*secundum 'ΙΧΘΥΝ nostrum*), Jesus Christ, in water, and can thrive only by continuing in the water;" that is if we are faithful to our bap-

¹ John 10: 11. Comp. above, p. 276.

² Luke 15: 3-7; comp. Isa. 40: 11; Ez. 34: 11-15; Ps. 23.

³ John 1: 29; 1 Pet. 1: 19; Rev. 5: 12.

⁴ Gen. 22: 13.

⁵ Christ calls the apostles "fishers of men," Matt. 4: 19.

⁶ *ΙΧΘΥΣ* = *Ι-ησους Χ-ριστος Θ-εου Υ-ιός Σ-ωτήρ*. Comp. Augustin, *De Civit. Dei* xviii. 23 (*Jesus Christus Dei Filius Salvator*). The acrostic in the Sibylline Books (lib. viii. vs. 217 sqq.) adds to this word *σταυρός*, the cross. Schultze (*Katak.*, p. 129), not satisfied with this explanation, goes back to Matt. 7: 10, where fish (*ἰχθύς*) and serpent (*ὄφεις*) are contrasted, and suggested a contrast between Christ and the devil (comp. Apoc. 12: 14, 15; 2 Cor. 11: 3). Rather artificial. Merz derives the symbol from *ὄψον* (hence *ὀψάριον* in John 21: 9) in the sense of "fish, flesh." In Palestine fish was, next to bread, the principal food, and a savory accompaniment of bread. It figures prominently in the miraculous feeding of the multitude (John 6: 9, 11), and in the meal of the risen Saviour on the shores of the Lake of Tiberias (John 21: 9, *ὀψάριον καὶ ἄρτον*). By an allegorical stretch, the fish might thus become to the mind of the early church a symbol of Christ's body, as the heavenly food which he gave for the salvation of men (John 6: 51).

⁷ *De Baptismo*, c. 1.

tismal covenant, and preserve the grace there received. The pious fancy made the fish a symbol of the whole mystery of the Christian salvation. The anagrammatic or hieroglyphic use of the Greek *ICHTHYS* and the Latin *PISCIS-CHRISTUS* belonged to the *Disciplina Arcani*, and was a testimony of the ancient church to the faith in Christ's person as the Son of God, and his work as the Saviour of the world. The origin of this symbol must be traced beyond the middle of the second century, perhaps to Alexandria, where there was a strong love for mystic symbolism, both among the orthodox and the Gnostic heretics.¹ It is familiarly mentioned by Clement of Alexandria, Origen, and Tertullian, and is found on ancient remains in the Roman catacombs, marked on the grave-stones, rings, lamps, vases, and wall-pictures.²

The Ichthys-symbol went out of use before the middle of the fourth century, after which it is only found occasionally as a reminiscence of olden times.

Previous to the time of Constantine, we find no trace of an image of Christ, properly speaking, except among the Gnostic Carpocratians,³ and in the case of the heathen emperor Alexander Severus, who adorned his domestic chapel, as a sort of syncretistic Pantheon, with representatives of all religions.⁴ The above-mentioned idea of the uncomely personal appearance

¹ So Pitra, *De Pisce symbolico*, in "Spicil. Solesm.," III. 524. Comp. Mariott, *The Testimony of the Catacombs*, p. 120 sqq.

² The oldest Ichthys-monument known so far was discovered in 1865 in the Cœmeterium Domitillæ, a hitherto inaccessible part of the Roman catacombs, and is traced by Cavalier De Rossi to the first century, by Becker to the first half of the second. It is in a wall picture, representing three persons with three loaves of bread and a fish. In other pictures we find fish, bread, and wine, with evident allusion to the miraculous feeding (Matt. 15: 17), and the meals of the risen Saviour with his disciples (Luke, ch. 24; John, ch. 21). Paulinus calls Christ "*panis ipse verus et aquæ vivæ piscis*." See the interesting illustrations in Garrucci, Martigny, Kraus, and other archæological works.

³ Irenæus, *Adv. Hær.* I. 25. The Carpocratians asserted that even Pilate ordered a portrait of Christ to be made. Comp. Hippolytus, *Philos.*, VII. c. 32; Epiphanius, *Adv. Hær.* XXVI. 6; Augustin, *De Hær.* c. 7.

⁴ Apollonius, Orpheus, Abraham, and Christ. See Lampridius, *Vita Alex. Sev.* c. 29.

of Jesus, the entire silence of the Gospels about it, and the Old Testament prohibition of images, restrained the church from making either pictures or statues of Christ, until in the Nicene age a great change took place, though not without energetic and long-continued opposition. Eusebius gives us, from his own observation, the oldest report of a statue of Christ, which was said to have been erected by the woman with the issue of blood, together with her own statue, in memory of her cure, before her dwelling at Cæsarea Philippi (Paneas).¹ But the same historian, in a letter to the empress Constantia (the sister of Constantine and widow of Licinius), strongly protested against images of Christ, who had laid aside his earthly servant form, and whose heavenly glory transcends the conception and artistic skill of man.²

§ 81. *Pictures of the Virgin Mary.*

DE ROSSI: *Imagines selectæ Deiparæ Virginis* (Rome, 1863); MARIOTT: *Catacombs* (Lond. 1870, pp. 1-63); MARTIGNY: *Dict. sub "Vierge;"* KRAUS: *Die christl. Kunst* (Leipz. 1873, p. 105); NORTHCOTE and BROWNLOW: *Roma Sotter.* (2nd ed. Lond. 1879, Pt. II. p. 133 sqq.); WITHROW: *Catacombs* (N. Y. 1874, p. 305 sqq.); SCHULTZE: *Die Marienbilder der altchristl. Kunst, and Die Katacomben* (Leipz. 1882, p. 150 sqq.); VON LEHNER: *Die Marienverehrung in den 3 ersten Jahrh.* (Stuttgart, 1881, p. 282 sqq.).

It was formerly supposed that no picture of the Virgin existed before the Council of Ephesus (431), which condemned Nestorius and sanctioned the *theotokos*, thereby giving solemn sanction and a strong impetus to the cultus of Mary. But several pictures are now traced, with a high degree of probability, to the third, if not the second century. From the first

¹ H. E. VII. 18. Comp. Matt. 9: 20. Probably that alleged statue of Christ was a monument of Hadrian, or some other emperor to whom the Phenicians did obeisance, in the form of a kneeling woman. Similar representations are seen on coins, particularly from the age of Hadrian. Julian the Apostate destroyed the two statues, and substituted his own, which was riven by lightning (Sozom. V. 21).

² A fragment of this letter is preserved in the acts of the iconoclastic Council of 754, and in the sixth act of the Second Council of Nicaea, 787. See Euseb. *Opp.* ed. Migne, II. col. 1545, and Harduin, *Conc.* IV. 406.

five centuries nearly fifty representations of Mary have so far been brought to the notice of scholars, most of them in connection with the infant Saviour.

The oldest is a fragmentary wall-picture in the cemetery of Priscilla: it presents Mary wearing a tunic and cloak, in sitting posture, and holding at her breast the child, who turns his face round to the beholder. Near her stands a young and beardless man (probably Joseph) clothed in the *pallium*, holding a book-roll in one hand, pointing to the star above with the other, and looking upon the mother and child with the expression of joy; between and above the figures is the star of Bethlehem; the whole represents the happiness of a family without the supernatural adornments of dogmatic reflection.¹ In the same cemetery of Priscilla there are other frescos, representing (according to De Rossi and Garrucci) the annunciation by the angel, the adoration of the Magi, and the finding of the Lord in the temple. The adoration of the Magi (two or four, afterwards three) is a favorite part of the pictures of the holy family. In the oldest picture of that kind in the cemetery

¹ See the picture in De Rossi, Plate iv., Northcote and Brownlow, Plate xx (II. 140), and in Schultze, *Katak.*, p. 151. De Rossi ("Bulletino," 1865, 23, as quoted by N. and B.) declares it either coëval with the first Christian art, or little removed from it, either of the age of the Flavii or of Trajan and Hadrian, or at the very latest, of the first Antonines. "On the roof of this tomb there was figured in fine stucco the Good Shepherd between two sheep, and some other subject, now nearly defaced." De Rossi supports his view of the high antiquity of this Madonna by the superior, almost classical style of art, and by the fact that the catacomb of Priscilla, the mother of Pudens, is one of the oldest. But J. H. Parker, an experienced antiquary, assigns this picture to A. D. 523. The young man is, according to De Rossi, Isaiah or some other prophet; but Marriott and Schultze refer him to Joseph, which is more probable, although the later tradition of the Greek church derived from the Apocryphal Gospels and strengthened by the idea of the perpetual virginity, represents him as an old man with several children from a previous marriage (the brethren of Jesus, changed into cousins by Jerome and the Latin church). Northcote and Brownlow (II. 141) remark: "St. Joseph certainly appears in some of the sarcophagi; and in the most ancient of them as a young and beardless man, generally clad in a tunic. In the mosaics of St. Mary Major's, which are of the fifth century, and in which he appears four or five times, he is shown of mature age, if not old; and from that time forward this became the more common mode of representing him."

of SS. Peter and Marcellinus, Mary sits on a chair, holding the babe in her lap, and receiving the homage of two Magi, one on each side, presenting their gifts on a plate.¹ In later pictures the manger, the ox and the ass, and the miraculous star are added to the scene.

The frequent pictures of a lady in praying attitude, with uplifted or outstretched arms (*Orans* or *Orante*), especially when found in company with the Good Shepherd, are explained by Roman Catholic archæologists to mean the church or the blessed Virgin, or both combined, praying for sinners.² But figures of praying men as well as women are abundant in the catacombs, and often represent the person buried in the adjacent tomb, whose names are sometimes given. No *Ora pro nobis*, no *Ave Maria*, no *Theotokos* or *Deipara* appears there. The pictures of the *Orans* are like those of other women, and show no traces of Mariolatry. Nearly all the representations in the catacombs keep within the limits of the gospel history. But after the fourth century, and in the degeneracy of art, Mary was pictured in elaborate mosaics, and on gilded glasses, as the crowned queen of heaven, seated on a throne, in bejewelled purple robes, and with a nimbus of glory, worshipped by angels and saints.

The noblest pictures of Mary, in ancient and modern times, endeavor to set forth that peculiar union of virgin purity and motherly tenderness which distinguish "the Wedded Maid

¹ See Plate XX. in N. and B. II. 140. Schultze (p. 153) traces this picture to the beginning of the third century.

² According to the usual Roman Catholic interpretation of the apocalyptic vision of the woman clothed with the sun, and bringing forth a man-child (12: 1, 5). Cardinal Newman reasons inconclusively in a letter to Dr. Pusey on his *Exireicon* (p. 62): "I do not deny that, under the image of the woman, the church is signified; but . . . the holy apostle would not have spoken of the church under this particular image unless there had existed a blessed Virgin Mary, who was exalted on high, and the object of veneration of all the faithful." When accompanied by the Good Shepherd the *Orans* is supposed by Northcote and Brownlow (II. 137) to represent Mary as the new Eve, as the Shepherd is the new Adam. It must be admitted that the parallel between Mary and Eve is as old as Irenæus, and contains the fruitful germ of Mariolatry, but in those pictures no such contrast is presented.

and Virgin Mother" from ordinary women, and exert such a powerful charm upon the imagination and feelings of Christendom. No excesses of Mariolatry, sinful as they are, should blind us to the restraining and elevating effect of contemplating, with devout reverence,

"The ideal of all womanhood,
So mild, so merciful, so strong, so good,
So patient, peaceful, loyal, loving, pure."

CHAPTER VII.

THE CHURCH IN THE CATACOMBS.

§ 82. *Literature.*

Comp. the works quoted in ch. VI., especially GARRUCCI (6 vols.), and the Table of Illustrations at the end of this volume.

I. Older works. By BOSIO (*Roma Sotterranea*, Rom. 1632; abridged edition by P. GIOVANNI SEVERANI da S. Severino, Rom. 1710, very rare); BOLDETTI (1720); BOTTARI (1737); D'AGINCOURT (1825); RÖSTELL (1830); MARCHI (1844); MAITLAND (*The Church in the Catacombs*, Lond. 1847); LOUIS PERRET (*Catacombes de Rome*, etc. Paris, 1858 sqq. 5 vols., with 325 splendid plates, but with a text that is of little value, and superseded).

II. More recent works.

*GIOVANNI BATTISTA DE ROSSI (the chief authority on the Catacombs): *La Roma Sotterranea Cristiana descritta et illustrata*, publ. by order of Pope Pio Nono, Roma (cromolitografia Pontificia), Tom. I. 1864, Tom. II. 1867, Tom. III. 1877, in 3 vols. fol. with two additional vols. of plates and inscriptions. A fourth volume is expected. Comp. his articles in the bimonthly "Bulletino di archeologia Cristiana," Rom. 1863 sqq., and several smaller essays. Roller calls De Rossi "*le fouilleur le mieux qualifié, fervent catholique, mais critique sérieux.*"

*J. SPENCER NORTHCOTE (Canon of Birmingham) and W. R. BROWNLOW (Canon of Plymouth): *Roma Sotterranea*. London (Longmans, Green & Co., 1869; second edition, "rewritten and greatly enlarged," 1879, 2 vols. The first vol. contains the History, the second, Christian Art. This work gives the substance of the investigations of Commandatore De Rossi by his consent, together with a large number of chromo-lithographic plates and wood-engravings, with special reference to the cemetery of San Callisto. The vol. on Inscriptions is separate, see below.

F. X. KRAUS (R. C.), *Roma Sotterranea. Die Röm. Katakomben*. Freiburg. i. B. (1873), second ed. 1879. Based upon De Rossi and the first ed. of Northcote & Brownlow.

D. DE RICHEMONT: *Les catacombes de Rome*. Paris, 1870.

WHARTON B. MARRIOTT, B. S. F. S. A. (Ch. of England): *The Testi-*
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mony of the Catacombs and of other Monuments of Christian Art from the second to the eighteenth century, concerning questions of Doctrine now disputed in the Church. London, 1870 (223 pages with illustrations). Discusses the monuments referring to the cultus of the Virgin Mary, the supremacy of the Pope, and the state after death.

F. BECKER: *Roms altchristliche Cömeterien.* Leipzig, 1874.

W. H. WITHROW (Methodist): *The Catacombs of Rome and their Testimony relative to Primitive Christianity.* New York (Nelson & Phillips), 1874. Polemical against Romanism. The author says (Pref., p. 6): "The testimony of the catacombs exhibits, more strikingly than any other evidence, the immense contrast between primitive Christianity and modern Romanism."

JOHN P. LUNDY (Episc.): *Monumental Christianity: or the Art and Symbolism of the Primitive Church as Witnesses and Teachers of the one Catholic Faith and Practice.* New York, 1876. New ed. enlarged, 1882, 453 pages, richly illustrated.

*JOHN HENRY PARKER (Episc.): *The Archæology of Rome.* Oxford and London, 1877. Parts ix. and x.: Tombs in and near Rome, and Sculpture; Part xii.: The Catacombs. A standard work, with the best illustrations.

*THÉOPHILE ROLLER (Protest.): *Les Catacombes de Rome. Histoire de l'art et des croyances religieuses pendant les premiers siècles du Christianisme.* Paris, 1879-1881, 2 vols. fol. 720 pages text and 100 excellent plates en héliogravure, and many illustrations and inscriptions. The author resided several years at Naples and Rome as Reformed pastor.

M. ARMELLINI (R. C.): *Le Catacombe Romane descritte.* Roma, 1880 (A popular extract from De Rossi, 437 pages). By the same the more important work: *Il Cimiterio di S. Agnese sulla via Nomentana.* Rom. 1880.

DEAN STANLEY: *The Roman Catacombs*, in his "Christian Institutions." Lond. and N. York, 1881 (pp. 272-295).

*VICTOR SCHULTZE (Lutheran): *Archæologische Studien über altchristliche Monumente. Mit 26 Holzschnitten.* Wien, 1880; *Die Katakomben. Die altchristlichen Grabstätten. Ihre Geschichte und ihre Monumente* (with 52 illustrations). Leipzig, 1882 (342 pages); *Die Katakomben von San Gennaro dei Poveri in Neapel.* Jena, 1877. Also the pamphlet: *Der theolog. Ertrag der Katakombenforschung.* Leipz. 1882 (30 pages). The last pamphlet is against Harnack's review, who charged Schultze with overrating the gain of the catacomb-investigations (see the "Theol. Literaturzeitung," 1882. Nos. 16 and 26).

EGBERT C. SMYTH (Prof. in Andover, Mass.): *Recent Excavations in Ancient Christian Cemeteries.* Worcester, Mass., 1882 (30 pages).

Comp. also EDMUND VENABLES in Smith and Cheetham, I. 294-317;

HEINRICH MERZ in Herzog, VII. 559-568; THEOD. MOMMSEN on the *Roman Catac.* in "The Contemp. Review," vol. XVII. 160-175 (April to July, 1871); and the relevant articles in the *Archæol. Dicta.* of MARTIGNY and KRAUS.

III. Christian Inscriptions in the catacombs and other old monuments.

*Commendatore J. B. DE ROSSI: *Inscriptiones Christianæ Urbis Romæ septimo seculo antiquiores.* Romæ, 1861 (XXIII. and 619 pages). Another vol. is expected. The chief work in this department. Many inscriptions also in his *Roma Sott.* and "Bulletino."

EDWARD LE BLANT: *Inscriptions chrétiennes de la Gaule antérieures au VIII^{me} siècle.* Paris, 1856 and 1865, 2 vols. By the same: *Manuel d'Épigraphie chrétienne.* Paris, 1869.

JOHN McCaul: *Christian Epitaphs of the First Six Centuries.* Toronto, 1869. Greek and Latin, especially from Rome.

F. BECKER: *Die Inschriften der römischen Cömeterien.* Leipzig, 1878.

*J. SPENCER NORTHCOTE (R. C. Canon of Birmingham): *Epitaphs of the Catacombs or Christian Inscriptions in Rome during the First Four Centuries.* Lond., 1878 (196 pages).

G. T. STOKES on *Greek and Latin Christian Inscriptions*; two articles in the "Contemporary Review" for 1880 and 1881.

V. SCHULTZE discusses the Inscriptions in the fifth section of his work *Die Katakomben* (1882), pp. 235-274, and gives the literature.

The *Corpus Inscriptionum Græcarum* by BÖCKH, and KIRCHHOFF, and the *Corpus Inscriptionum Lat.*, edited for the Berlin Academy by TH. MOMMSEN and others, 1863 sqq. (not yet completed), contain also Christian Inscriptions. Prof. E. HÜBNER has added those of Spain (1871) and Britain (1878). G. PETRIE has collected the Christian Inscriptions in the Irish language, ed. by STOKES. Dublin, 1870 sqq. Comp. the art. "Inscriptions," in Smith and Cheetham, I. 841.

§ 83. *Origin and History of the Catacombs.*

THE Catacombs of Rome and other cities open a new chapter of Church history, which has recently been dug up from the bowels of the earth. Their discovery was a revelation to the world as instructive and important as the discovery of the long lost cities of Pompeii and Herculaneum, and of Nineveh and Babylon. Eusebius says nothing about them; the ancient Fathers scarcely allude to them, except Jerome and Prudentius, and even they give us no idea of their extent and importance. Hence the historians till quite recently have passed them by in

silence.¹ But since the great discoveries of Commendatore De Rossi and other archæologists they can no longer be ignored. They confirm, illustrate, and supplement our previous knowledge derived from the more important literary remains.

The name of the Catacombs is of uncertain origin, but is equivalent to subterranean cemeteries or resting-places for the dead.² First used of the Christian cemeteries in the neighborhood of Rome, it was afterwards applied to those of Naples, Malta, Sicily, Alexandria, Paris, and other cities.

It was formerly supposed that the Roman Catacombs were originally sand-pits (*arenariæ*) or stone-quarries (*lapidicinæ*), excavated by the heathen for building material, and occasionally used as receptacles for the vilest corpses of slaves and criminals.³ But this view is now abandoned on account of the difference of construction and of the soil. A few of the catacombs, however, about five out of thirty, are more or less closely connected with abandoned sand-pits.⁴

¹ Mosheim and Gibbon in the last century, and even Neander, Gieseler, and Baur, in our age, ignore the very existence of the catacombs, except that Gieseler quotes the well-known passage of Jerome. But Dean Milman, in his *History of Christianity*, Haase, Kurtz, Kraus, and others, in their manuals, take brief notice of them.

² κατακύμβιον, *catacumba*, also (in some MSS.) *catatumba*. Various derivations: 1) From *κατά* (*down from, downwards*, as in *καταβαίω, κατακείμαι, καταπέμπω*), and *κύμβος* (compare the late Latin *tumba*, the French *tombe, tombeau*, and the English *tomb, grave*), i. e. a tomb down in the earth, as distinct from tombs on the surface. This corresponds best to the thing itself. 2) From *κατά* and *κοιμάω* (*to sleep*), which would make it equivalent to *κοιμητήριον, dormitorium, sleeping place*. 3) From *κατά* and *κύβη* (*the hollow of a vessel*) or *κύμβος* (*cup, κύμβιον* (*a small cup, Lat. cymbium*), which would simply give us the idea of a hollow place. So Venables in Smith and Cheetham. Very unlikely. 4) A hybrid term from *κατά* and the Latin *decumbo, to lie down, to recline*. So Marchi, and Northcote and Brownlow (I. 263). The word first occurs in a Christian calendar of the third or fourth century (in *Catacumbas*), and in a letter of Gregory I. to the Empress Constantia, towards the end of the sixth century (*Epp.* III. 30), with a special local application to San Sebastian. The earlier writers use the terms *κοιμητήρια, coemeteria* (whence our *cemetery*), also *cryptæ, crypts*.

³ So Aringhi, Baronius, Severano, Bottari, Boldetti, and all writers prior to Marchi, and his pupils, the two brothers De Rossi, who turned the current of opinion. See Northcote and Br. I. 377 sqq.

⁴ The sand-pits and stone-quarries were made wide enough for a horse and

The catacombs, therefore, with a few exceptions, are of Christian origin, and were excavated for the express purpose of Christian burial. Their enormous extent, and the mixture of heathen with Christian symbols and inscriptions, might suggest that they were used by heathen also; but this is excluded by the fact of the mutual aversion of Christians and idolaters to associate in life and in death. The mythological features are few, and adapted to Christian ideas.¹

Another erroneous opinion, once generally entertained, regarded the catacombs as places of refuge from heathen persecution. But the immense labor required could not have escaped the attention of the police. They were, on the contrary, the result of toleration. The Roman government, although (like all despotic governments) jealous of secret societies, was quite liberal towards the burial clubs, mostly of the poorer classes, or associations for securing, by regular contributions, decent interment with religious ceremonies.² Only the worst criminals,

cart, and are cut in the *tufa litoide* and *pozzolana pura*, which furnish the best building material in Rome; while the catacombs have generally very narrow passages, run in straight lines, often cross each other at sharp angles, and are excavated in the *tufa granulare*, which is too soft for building-stone, and too much mixed with earth to be used for cement, but easily worked, and adapted for the construction of galleries and chambers. See Northcote and Br. I. 376-390. The exceptions are also stated by these authors. J. H. Parker has discovered *loculi* for Christian burial in the recesses of a deserted sand-pit.

¹ See the remarks of Northcote and Br. I. 276 against J. H. Parker, who asserts the mixed use of the catacombs for heathens and Christians.

² This view is supported by Professor Mommsen, the Roman historian, who says (in "Contemporary Review," vol. xxvii. p. 168): "Associations of poor people who clubbed together for the burial of their members were not only tolerated but supported by the imperial government, which otherwise was very strict against associations. From this point of view, therefore, there was no legal impediment to the acquisition of these properties. Christian associations have from the very beginning paid great attention to their burials; it was considered the duty of the wealthier members to provide for the burial of the poor, and St. Ambrose still allowed churches to sell their communion plate, in order to enlarge the cemeteries of the faithful. The catacombs show what could be achieved by such means at Rome. Even if their fabulous dimensions are reduced to their right measure, they form an immense work, without beauty and ornament, despising in architecture and inscription not only pomp

traitors, suicides, and those struck down by lightning (touched by the gods) were left unburied. The pious care of the dead is an instinct of human nature, and is found among all nations. Death is a mighty leveler of distinctions and preacher of toleration and charity; even despots bow before it, and are reminded of their own vanity; even hard hearts are moved by it to pity and to tears. "*De mortuis nihil nisi bonum.*"

The Christians enjoyed probably from the beginning the privilege of common cemeteries, like the Jews, even without an express enactment. Galienus restored them after their temporary confiscation during the persecution of Valerian (260).¹

Being mostly of Jewish and Oriental descent, the Roman Christians naturally followed the Oriental custom of cutting their tombs in rocks, and constructing galleries. Hence the close resemblance of the Jewish and Christian cemeteries in Rome.² The ancient Greeks and Romans under the empire were in the habit of burning the corpses (*crematio*) for sanitary

and empty phraseology, but even nicety and correctness, avoiding the splendor and grandeur as well as the tinsel and vanity of the life of the great town that was hurrying and throbbing above, the true commentary of the words of Christ—"My kingdom is not of this world."

¹ Euseb. *H. E.* VII. 13: 1, τὰ τῶν καλουμένων κοιμητηρίων ἀπολαμβάνειν ἐπιτρέπων χωρία.

² Roller says (in Lichtenberger's *Encycl. des Sc. Rel.* II. 685). "*Les juifs ensevelissaient dans le roc. A Rome ils ont creusé de grandes catacombes presque identiques à celles des chrétiens. Ceux-ci ont été leurs imitateurs. Les Etrusques se servaient aussi de grottes; mais ils ne les reliaient point par des galeries illimitées.*" Dean Stanley (*l. c.* p. 274): "The Catacombs are the standing monuments of the Oriental and Jewish character, even of Western Christianity. The fact that they are the counterparts of the rock-hewn tombs of Palestine, and yet more closely of the Jewish cemeteries in the neighborhood of Rome, corresponds to the fact that the early Roman Church was not a Latin but an Eastern community, speaking Greek and following the usages of Syria. And again, the ease with which the Roman Christians had recourse to these cemeteries is an indication of the impartiality of the Roman law, which extended (as De Rossi has well pointed out) to this despised sect the same protection in regard to burial, even during the times of persecution, that was accorded to the highest in the land. They thus bear witness to the unconscious fostering care of the Imperial Government over the infant church. They are thus monuments, not so much of the persecution as of the toleration which the Christians received at the hands of the Roman Empire."

reasons, but burial in the earth (*humatio*), outside of the city near the public roads, or on hills, or in natural grottos, was the older custom; the rich had their own sepulchres (*sepulcra*).

In their catacombs the Christians could assemble for worship and take refuge in times of persecution. Very rarely they were pursued in these silent retreats. Once only it is reported that the Christians were shut up by the heathen in a cemetery and smothered to death.

Most of the catacombs were constructed during the first three centuries, a few may be traced almost to the apostolic age.¹ After Constantine, when the temporal condition of the Christians improved, and they could bury their dead without any disturbance in the open air, the cemeteries were located above ground, especially above the catacombs, and around the basilicas, or on other land purchased or donated for the purpose. Some catacombs owe their origin to individuals or private families, who granted the use of their own grounds for the burial of their brethren; others belonged to churches. The Christians wrote on the graves appropriate epitaphs and consoling thoughts, and painted on the walls their favorite symbols. At funerals they turned these dark and cheerless abodes into chapels; under the dim light of the terra-cotta lamps they committed dust to dust, ashes to ashes, and amidst the shadows of death they inhaled the breath of the resurrection and life everlasting. But it is an error to suppose that the catacombs served as the usual places of worship in times of persecution; for such a purpose they were entirely unfitted; even the largest could accommodate, at most, only twenty or thirty persons within convenient distance.²

¹ De Rossi (as quoted by Northcote and Brownlow, I. 112): "Precisely in those cemeteries to which history or tradition assigns apostolic origin, I see, in the light of the most searching archaeological criticism, the cradle both of Christian subterranean sepulchres, of Christian art, and of Christian inscriptions; there I find memorials of persons who appear to belong to the times of the Flavii and of Trajan; and finally I discover precise dates of those times."

² Schultze (*Die Katak.*, p. 73 and 83) maintains in opposition to Marchi, that the catacombs were nothing but burial places, and used only for the burial service, and that the little chapels (*ecclesiola*) were either private sepulchral chambers or post-Constantinian structures.

The devotional use of the catacombs began in the Nicene age, and greatly stimulated the worship of martyrs and saints. When they ceased to be used for burial they became resorts of pious pilgrims. Little chapels were built for the celebration of the memory of the martyrs. St. Jerome relates,¹ how, while a school-boy, about A. D. 350, he used to go with his companions every Sunday to the graves of the apostles and martyrs in the crypts at Rome, "where in subterranean depths the visitor passes to and fro between the bodies of the entombed on both walls, and where all is so dark, that the prophecy here finds its fulfillment: The living go down into Hades."² Here and there a ray from above, not falling in through a window, but only pressing in through a crevice, softens the gloom; as you go onward, it fades away, and in the darkness of night which surrounds you, that verse of Virgil comes to your mind:

"Horror ubique animos, simul ipsa silentia terrent."³

The poet Prudentius also, in the beginning of the fifth century, several times speaks of these burial places, and the devotions held within them.⁴

Pope Damasus (366-384) showed his zeal in repairing and decorating the catacombs, and erecting new stair-cases for the convenience of pilgrims. His successors kept up the interest, but by repeated repairs introduced great confusion into the chronology of the works of art.

The barbarian invasions of Alaric (410), Genseric (455), Ricimer (472), Vitiges (537), Totila (546), and the Lombards (754), turned Rome into a heap of ruins and destroyed many valuable treasures of classical and Christian antiquity. But the pious barbarism of relic hunters did much greater damage.

¹ *Com. in Es.* ch. 40.

² He refers to such passages as Ps. 55: 15; Num. 16: 33.

³ *Aen.* II. 755:

"Horror on every side, and terrible even the silence."

Or in German:

"Grauen rings um mich her, und schreckvoll selber die Stille."

⁴ *Peristeph.* XI. 153 sqq.

The tombs of real and imaginary saints were rifled, and cart-loads of dead men's bones were translated to the Pantheon and churches and chapels for more convenient worship. In this way the catacombs gradually lost all interest, and passed into decay and complete oblivion for more than six centuries.

In the sixteenth century the catacombs were rediscovered, and opened an interesting field for antiquarian research. The first discovery was made May 31, 1578, by some laborers in a vineyard on the Via Salaria, who were digging *pozzolana*, and came on an old subterranean cemetery, ornamented with Christian paintings, Greek and Latin inscriptions and sculptured sarcophagi. "In that day," says De Rossi, "was born the name and the knowledge of Roma Sotterranea." One of the first and principal explorers was Antonio Bosio, "the Columbus of this subterranean world." His researches were published after his death (Roma, 1632). Filippo Neri, Carlo Borromeo, and other restorers of Romanism spent, like St. Jerome of old, whole nights in prayer amid these ruins of the age of martyrs. But Protestant divines discredited these discoveries as inventions of Romish divines seeking in heathen sand-pits for Christian saints who never lived, and Christian martyrs who never died.¹

In the present century the discovery and investigation of the catacombs has taken a new start, and is now an important department of Christian archæology. The dogmatic and sectarian treatment has given way to a scientific method with the sole aim to ascertain the truth. The acknowledged pioneer in this subterranean region of ancient church history is the Cavalier John Baptist de Rossi, a devout, yet liberal Roman Catholic. His monumental Italian work (*Roma Sotterranea*, 1864-1877) has been made accessible in judicious condensations to French, German, and English readers by Allard (1871),

¹ *E. g.* Bishop Burnet (who visited the catacombs in 1685): *Letters from Italy and Switzerland* in 1685 and 1686. He believed that the catacombs were the common burial places of the ancient heathen. G. S. Cyprian (1699), J. Basnage (1699), and Peter Zorn (1703), wrote on the subject in polemical interest against Rome.

Kraus (1873 and 1879), Northcote & Brownlow (1869 and 1879). Other writers, Protestant as well as Roman Catholic, are constantly adding to our stores of information. Great progress has been made in the chronology and the interpretation of the pictures in the catacombs.

And yet the work is only begun. More than one half of ancient Christian cemeteries are waiting for future exploration. De Rossi treats chiefly of one group of Roman catacombs, that of Callistus. The catacombs in Naples, Syracuse, Girgenti, Melos, Alexandria, Cyrene, are very imperfectly known; still others in the ancient apostolic churches may yet be discovered, and furnish results as important for church history as the discoveries of Ilium, Mycenæ, and Olympia for that of classical Greece.

§ 84. *Description of the Catacombs.*

The Roman catacombs are long and narrow passages or galleries and cross-galleries excavated in the bowels of the earth in the hills outside and around the city, for the burial of the dead. They are dark and gloomy, with only an occasional ray of light from above. The galleries have two or more stories, all filled with tombs, and form an intricate net-work or subterranean labyrinth. Small compartments (*loculi*) were cut out like shelves in the perpendicular walls for the reception of the dead, and rectangular chambers (*cubicula*) for families, or distinguished martyrs. They were closed with a slab of marble or tile. The more wealthy were laid in sarcophagi. The ceiling is flat, sometimes slightly arched. Space was economized so as to leave room usually only for a single person; the average width of the passages being $2\frac{1}{2}$ to 3 feet. This economy may be traced to the poverty of the early Christians, and also to their strong sense of community in life and in death. The little oratories with altars and episcopal chairs cut in the tufa are probably of later construction, and could accommodate only a few persons at a time. They were suited for funeral services and private devotion, but not for public worship.

The galleries were originally small, but gradually extended to enormous length. Their combined extent is counted by hundreds of miles, and the number of graves by millions.¹

The oldest and best known of the Roman cemeteries is that of St. SEBASTIAN, originally called *Ad Catacumbas*, on the Appian road, a little over two miles south of the city walls. It was once, it is said, the temporary resting-place of the bodies of St. Peter and St. Paul, before their removal to the basilicas named after them; also of forty-six bishops of Rome, and of a large number of martyrs.

The immense cemetery of Pope CALLISTUS (218-223) on the Via Appia consisted originally of several small and independent burial grounds (called *Lucinæ*, *Zephyrini*, *Callisti*, *Hippoliti*). It has been thoroughly investigated by De Rossi. The most ancient part is called after *Lucina*, and measures 100 Roman feet in breadth by 180 feet in length. The whole group bears the name of *Callistus*, probably because his predecessor, *Zephyrinus* "set him over the cemetery" (of the church of Rome).² He was then a deacon. He stands high in the estimation of the Roman church, but the account given of him by Hippolytus is quite unfavorable. He was certainly a remarkable man, who rose from slavery to the highest dignity of the church.

¹ I hesitate to state the figures. Roman archaeologists, as Marchi, J. B. de Rossi and his brother Michael de R. (a practical mathematician), Martigny and others estimate the length of the Roman catacombs variously at from 350 to 900 miles, or as "more than the whole length of Italy" (Northcote and Brownlow, I. 2). Allowance is made for from four to seven millions of graves! It seems incredible that there should have been so many Christians in Rome in four centuries, even if we include the numerous strangers. All such estimates are purely conjectural. See Smith and Cheetham, I. 301. Smyth (*l. c.* p. 15) quotes Rawlinson as saying that 7,000,000 of graves in 400 years' time gives an average population of from 500,000 to 700,000. Total population of Rome, 1,500,000 to 2,000,000 at the beginning of the empire.

² This is so stated by Hippolytus, *Philosoph.* IX. 11. *Zephyrinus* was buried there contrary to the custom of burying the popes in St. Peter's crypt in the Vatican. *Callistus* was hurled from a window in Trastevere, and hastily removed to the nearest cemetery on the Via Aurelia. The whole report of Hippolytus about *Callistus* is discredited by Northcote and Brownlow (I. 497 sqq.), but without good reason.

The cemetery of DOMITILLA (named in the fourth century St. Petronillæ, Nerei et Achillei) is on the Via Ardeatina, and its origin is traced back to Flavia Domitilla, grand-daughter or great-grand-daughter of Vespasian. She was banished by Domitian (about A. D. 95) to the island of Pontia "for professing Christ."¹ Her chamberlains (*eunuchi cubicularii*), Nerus and Achilleus, according to an uncertain tradition, were baptized by St. Peter, suffered martyrdom, and were buried in a farm belonging to their mistress. In another part of this cemetery De Rossi discovered the broken columns of a subterranean chapel and a small chamber with a fresco on the wall, which represents an elderly matron named "Veneranda," and a young lady, called in the inscription "PETRONILLA martyr," and pointing to the Holy Scriptures in a chest by her side, as the proofs of her faith. The former apparently introduces the latter into Paradise.² The name naturally suggests the legendary daughter of St. Peter.³ But Roman divines, reluctant to admit that the first pope had any children (though his marriage is beyond a doubt from the record of the Gospels), understand Petronilla to be a spiritual daughter, as Mark was a spiritual son, of the apostle (1 Pet. 5: 13), and make her the daughter of some Roman Petronius or Petro connected with the family of Domitilla.

Other ancient catacombs are those of Prætextatus, Priscilla (St. Silvestri and St. Marcelli), Basilla (S. Hermetis, Basillæ, Proti, et Hyacinthi), Maximus, St. Hippolytus, St. Laurentius, St. Peter and Marcellinus, St. Agnes, and the Ostrianum (Ad Nymphas Petri, or Fons Petri, where Peter is said to have baptized from a natural well). De Rossi gives a list of forty-two

¹ Eusebius, *H. E.* III. 18. De Rossi distinguishes two Christian Domitillas, and defends this view against Mommsen. See "Bulletino," 1875, pp. 69-77, and Mommsen, *Corp. Inscript. Lat.*, Tom. VI. p. 172, as quoted by Northcote and Br. I. 86. See also Mommsen in "The Contemp. Review," XVII. 169 sq.; Lightfoot, *Philippians*, p. 22, and *S. Clement of R.*, 257.

² See the picture in Northcote and Br. I. 182, and on the whole subject of Petronilla, pp. 122, 176-186.

³ *Acta Sanct. Maii*, III. 11.

greater or lesser cemeteries, including isolated tombs of martyrs, in and near Rome, which date from the first four centuries, and are mentioned in ancient records.¹

The FURNITURE of the catacombs is instructive and interesting, but most of it has been removed to churches and museums, and must be studied outside. Articles of ornament, rings, seals, bracelets, neck-laces, mirrors, tooth-picks, ear-picks, buckles, brooches, rare coins, innumerable lamps of clay (*terra-cotta*), or of bronze, even of silver and amber, all sorts of tools, and in the case of children a variety of playthings were inclosed with the dead. Many of these articles are carved with the monogram of Christ, or other Christian symbols. (The lamps in Jewish cemeteries bear generally a picture of the golden candlestick).

A great number of flasks and cups also, with or without ornamentation, are found, mostly outside of the graves, and fastened to the grave-lids. These were formerly supposed to have been receptacles for tears, or, from the red, dried sediment in them, for the blood of martyrs. But later archæologists consider them drinking vessels used in the *agapæ* and oblations. A superstitious habit prevailed in the fourth century, although condemned by a council of Carthage (397), to give to the dead the eucharistic wine, or to put a cup with the consecrated wine in the grave.²

The instruments of torture which the fertile imagination of

¹ See also the list in N. and Br. I. pp. xx-xxi, and in Smith and Cheetham, I. 315.

² The curious controversy about these blood-stained phials is not yet closed. Chemical experiments have led to no decided results. The Congregation of Rites and Relics decided, in 1668, that the *phialæ cruentæ* or *ampullæ sanguinolentæ* were blood-vessels of martyrs, and Pius IX. confirmed the decision in 1863. It was opposed by distinguished Roman scholars (Mabillon, Tillemont, Muratori, the Jesuit Père de Buck (*De phialis rubricatis*, Brussels, 1855), but defended again, though cautiously and to a very limited extent by De Rossi (III. 602), Northcote and Brownlow (II. 330-343), and by F. X. Kraus (*Die Blutampullen der röm. Katakomben*, 1868, and *Ueber den gegenw. Stand der Frage nach dem Inhalt und der Bedeutung der röm. Blutampullen*, 1872). Comp. also Schultze: *Die sogen. Blutgläser der Röm. Kat.* (1880), and *Die Katakomben* (1882, pp. 226-232). Roller thinks that the phials contained probably perfumery, or perhaps eucharistic wine.

credulous people had discovered, and which were made to prove that almost every Christian buried in the catacombs was a martyr, are simply implements of handicraft. The instinct of nature prompts the bereaved to deposit in the graves of their kindred and friends those things which were constantly used by them. The idea prevailed also to a large extent that the future life was a continuation of the occupations and amusements of the present, but free from sin and imperfection.

On opening the graves the skeleton appears frequently even now very well preserved, sometimes in dazzling whiteness, as covered with a glistening glory; but falls into dust at the touch.

§ 85. *Pictures and Sculptures.*

The most important remains of the catacombs are the pictures, sculptures, and epitaphs.

I. Pictures. These have already been described in the preceding chapter. They are painted *al fresco* on the wall and ceiling, and represent Christian symbols, scenes of Bible history, and allegorical conceptions of the Saviour. A few are in pure classic style, and betray an early origin when Greek art still flourished in Rome; but most of them belong to the period of decay. Prominence is given to pictures of the Good Shepherd, and those biblical stories which exhibit the conquest of faith and the hope of the resurrection. The mixed character of some of the Christian frescos may be explained partly from the employment of heathen artists by Christian patrons, partly from old reminiscences. The Etrurians and Greeks were in the habit of painting their tombs, and Christian Greeks early saw the value of pictorial language as a means of instruction. In technical skill the Christian art is inferior to the heathen, but its subjects are higher, and its meaning is deeper.

II. The works of sculpture are mostly found on sarcophagi. Many of them are collected in the Lateran Museum. Few of them date from the ante-Nicene age.¹ They represent in relief

¹ Benan dates the oldest sculptures from the end of the third century: "*Les*

the same subjects as the wall-pictures, as far as they could be worked in stone or marble, especially the resurrection of Lazarus, Daniel among the lions, Moses smiting the rock, the sacrifice of Isaac.

Among the oldest Christian sarcophagi are those of St. Helena, the mother of Constantine (d. 328), and of Constantia, his daughter (d. 354), both of red porphyry, and preserved in the Vatican Museum. The sculpture on the former probably represents the triumphal entry of Constantine into Rome after his victory over Maxentius; the sculpture on the latter, the cultivation of the vine, probably with a symbolical meaning.¹

The richest and finest of all the Christian sarcophagi is that of Junius Bassus, Prefect of Rome, A. D. 359, and five times Consul, in the crypt of St. Peter's in the Vatican.² It was found in the Vatican cemetery (1595). It is made of Parian marble in Corinthian style. The subjects represented in the upper part are the sacrifice of Abraham, the capture of St. Peter, Christ seated between Peter and Paul, the capture of Christ, and Pilate washing his hands; in the lower part are the temptation of Adam and Eve, suffering Job, Christ's entrance into Jerusalem, Daniel among the lions, and the capture of St. Paul.

§ 86. *Epitaphs.*

"Rudely written, but each letter
Full of hope, and yet of heart-break,
Full of all the tender pathos of the Here
and the Hereafter."

To perpetuate, by means of sepulchral inscriptions, the

*sarcophages sculptés, représentant des scènes sacrées, apparaissent vers la fin du III^e siècle. Comme les peintures chrétiennes, ils ne s'écartent guère, sauf pour le sujet, des habitudes de l'art païen du même temps." (Marc Aurèle, p. 546). Comp. also Schultze, *Die Katak.* 165-186, and especially the IXth part of John Henry Parker's great work, which treats on the *Tombs in and near Rome*, 1877.*

¹ See photographs of both in Parker, Part IX, Nos. 209 and 210, and pp. 41 and 42.

² See a photograph in Parker, *l. c.*, Plate XIII; also in Lundy, *Monum. Christianity*, p. 112.

memory of relatives and friends, and to record the sentiments of love and esteem, of grief and hope, in the face of death and eternity, is a custom common to all civilized ages and nations. These epitaphs are limited by space, and often provoke rather than satisfy curiosity, but contain nevertheless in poetry or prose a vast amount of biographical and historical information. Many a grave-yard is a broken record of the church to which it belongs.

The Catacombs abound in such monumental inscriptions, Greek and Latin, or strangely mixed (Latin words in Greek characters), often rudely written, badly spelt, mutilated, and almost illegible, with and without symbolical figures. The classical languages were then in a process of decay, like classical eloquence and art, and the great majority of Christians were poor and illiterate people. One name only is given in the earlier epitaphs, sometimes the age, and the day of burial, but not the date of birth.

More than fifteen thousand epitaphs have been collected, classified, and explained by De Rossi from the first six centuries in Rome alone, and their number is constantly increasing. Benedict XIV. founded, in 1750, a Christian Museum, and devoted a hall in the Vatican to the collection of ancient sarcophagi. Gregory XVI. and Pius IX. patronized it. In this Lapidarian Gallery the costly pagan and the simple Christian inscriptions and sarcophagi confront each other on opposite walls, and present a striking contrast. Another important collection is in the Kircherian Museum, in the Roman College, another in the Christian Museum of the University of Berlin.¹

The entire field of ancient epigraphy, heathen and Christian in Italy and other countries, has been made accessible by the industry and learning of Gruter, Muratori, Marchi, De Rossi, Le

¹ Under the care of Professor Piper (a pupil of Neander), who even before De Rossi introduced a scientific knowledge of the sepulchral monuments and inscriptions. Comp. his "*Monumental Theology*," and his essay "*Ueber den kirchenhistorischen Gewinn aus Inschriften*," in the "*Jahrbücher f. D. Theologie*," 1875.

Blant, Boeckh, Kirchhoff, Orelli, Mommsen, Henzen, Hübner, Waddington, McCaul.

The most difficult part of this branch of archæology is the chronology (the oldest inscriptions being mostly undated).¹ Their chief interest for the church historian is their religion, as far as it may be inferred from a few words.

The key-note of the Christian epitaphs, as compared with the heathen, is struck by Paul in his words of comfort to the Thessalonians, that they should not sorrow like the heathen who have no hope, but remember that, as Jesus rose from the dead, so God will raise them also that are fallen asleep in Jesus.

Hence, while the heathen epitaphs rarely express a belief in immortality, but often describe death as an eternal sleep, the grave as a final home, and are pervaded by a tone of sadness, the Christian epitaphs are hopeful and cheerful. The farewell on earth is followed by a welcome from heaven. Death is but a short sleep; the soul is with Christ and lives in God, the body waits for a joyful resurrection: this is the sum and substance of the theology of Christian epitaphs. The symbol of Christ (*Ichthys*) is often placed at the beginning or end to show the ground of this hope. Again and again we find the brief, but significant words: "in peace;"² "he" or "she sleeps in peace;"³ "live in God," or "in Christ;" "live forever."⁴ "He rests well." "God quicken thy spirit." "Weep not, my child; death is not eternal." "Alexander is not dead, but lives above the stars, and his body rests in this tomb."⁵ "Here

¹ De Rossi traces some up to the first century, but Renan (*Marc-Aurèle*, p. 536) maintains: "*Les inscriptions chrétiennes des catacombes ne remontent qu'au commencement du III^e siècle.*"

² *In pace*; *ἐν εἰρήνῃ*. Frequent also in the Jewish cemeteries (*shalom*).

³ *Dormit in pace*; *requiescit in pace*; *in pace Domini*; *κοιμᾶται ἐν εἰρήνῃ*. The pagan formula "*depositus*" also occurs, but with an altered meaning: a precious treasure intrusted to faithful keeping for a short time.

⁴ *Vivas*, or *vive in Deo*; *vivas in æternum*; *vivas inter sanctos*. Contrast with these the pagan acclamations: *Sit tibi terra levis*; *Otea tua bene quiescant*; *Ave*; *Vale*.

⁵ This inscription in the cemetery of Callistus dates from the time of persecution, probably in the third century, and alludes to it in these words: "For while

Gordian, the courier from Gaul, strangled for the faith, with his whole family, rests in peace. The maid servant, Theophila, erected this."¹

At the same time stereotyped heathen epitaphs continued to be used (but of course not in a polytheistic sense), as "sacred to the funeral gods," or "to the departed spirits."² The laudatory epithets of heathen epitaphs are rare,³ but simple terms of natural affection very frequent, as "My sweetest child;" "Innocent little lamb;" "My dearest husband;" "My dearest wife;" "My innocent dove;" "My well-deserving father," or "mother."⁴ A. and B. "lived together" (for 15, 20, 30, 50, or even 60 years) "without any complaint or quarrel, without taking or giving offence."⁵ Such commemoration of conjugal happiness and commendations of female virtues, as modesty, chastity, prudence, diligence, frequently occur also on pagan monuments, and prove that there were many exceptions to the corruption of Roman society, as painted by Juvenal and the satirists.

Some epitaphs contain a request to the dead in heaven to pray for the living on earth.⁶ At a later period we find requests

on his knees, and about to sacrifice to the true God, he was led away to execution. O sad times! in which among sacred rites and prayers, even in caverns, we are not safe. What can be more wretched than such a life? and what than such a death? when they cannot be buried by their friends and relations—still at the end they shine like stars in heaven (*tandem in celo corruscant*). See Maitland, *The Church in the Cat.*, second ed. p. 40.

¹ This inscription is in Latin words, but in Greek uncial letters. See Perret, II. 152, and Aringhi, p. 387.

² *D. M.* or *D. M. S.* = *Dñs Mansibus sacrum* (others explain: *Deo Magno* or *Maximo*); *memoria eterna*, etc. See Schultze, p. 250 sq. Sometimes the monogram of Christ is inserted before S, and then the meaning may be *Deo Magno Christo Sacrum*, or *Christo Salvatori*. So Northcote, p. 99, who refers to Tit. 2: 13.

³ More frequent in those after the middle of the fourth century, as *incomparabilis*, *miræ sapientiæ* or *innocentiæ*, *rarissimi exempli*, *eximie bonitatis*.

⁴ *Dulcis*, *dulcissimus*, or *dulcissima*, *carus*, or *cara*, *carissimus*, *optimus*, *incomparabilis*, *famulus Dei*, *puella Deo placita*, ἀγαθός, ἄγιος, θεοσεβής, σεμνός, etc.

⁵ *Sine ulla querela*, *sine ulla contumelia*, *sine læsione animi*, *sine ulla offensa*, *sine jurgio*, *sine lite molesta*, etc.

⁶ "Pete, or roga, ora, pro nobis, pro parentibus, pro conjuge, pro filiis, pro sorore." These petitions are comparatively rare among the thousands of undated in-

for intercession in behalf of the departed when once, chiefly through the influence of Pope Gregory I., purgatory became an article of general belief in the Western church.¹ But the overwhelming testimony of the oldest Christian epitaphs is that the pious dead are already in the enjoyment of peace, and this accords with the Saviour's promise to the penitent thief, and with St. Paul's desire to depart and be with Christ, which is far better.² Take but this example: "Prima, thou livest in the glory of God, and in the peace of our Lord Jesus Christ."³

NOTES.

I. SELECTION OF ROMAN EPITAPHS.

The following selection of brief epitaphs in the Roman catacombs is taken from De Rossi, and Northcote, who give *fac-similes* of the original Latin and Greek. Comp. also the photographic plates in Roller, vol. I. Nos. X, XXXI, XXXII, and XXXIII; and vol. II. Nos. LXI, LXII, LXV, and LXVI.

1. To dear Cyriacus, sweetest son. Mayest thou live in the Holy Spirit.

2. Jesus Christ, Son of God, Saviour. To Pastor, a good and innocent son, who lived 4 years, 5 months and 26 days. Vitalis and Marcellina, his parents.

3. In eternal sleep (*somno aeternali*). Aurelius Gemellus, who lived . . . years and 8 months and 18 days. His mother made this for her

scriptions before Constantine, and mostly confined to members of the family. The Autun inscription (probably from the fourth century) ends with the petition of Pectorius to his departed parents, to think of him as often as they look upon Christ. See Marriott, p. 185.

¹ Dr. McCaul, of Toronto (as quoted in Smith and Cheetham, I. 856) says: "I recollect but two examples in Christian epitaphs of the first six centuries of the address to the reader for his prayers, so common in mediæval times."

² Luke 23: 43; Phil. 1: 23; 2 Cor. 5: 8.

³ *Prima, vivis in gloria Dei et in pace Domini nostri.*" Scratched in the mortar round a grave in the cemetery of Thraso, in Rome, quoted by Northcote, p. 89. He also quotes Paulinus of Nola, who represents a whole host of saints going forth from heaven to receive the soul of St. Felix as soon as it had left the body, and conducting it in triumph before the throne of God. A distinction, however, was made by Tertullian and other fathers between Paradise or Abraham's bosom, whither the pious go, and heaven proper. Comp. Roller's discussion of the idea of *refrigerium* which often meets us in the epitaphs, *Les Catacombes*, I. 225 sqq.

dearest well-deserving son. In peace. I commend [to thee], Bassilla, the innocence of Gemellus.

4. Lady Bassilla [= Saint Bassilla], we, Crescentius and Micina, commend to thee our daughter Crescen [tina], who lived 10 months and . . . days.

5. Matronata Matrona, who lived a year and 52 days. Pray for thy parents.

6. Anatolius made this for his well-deserving son, who lived 7 years, 7 months and 20 days. May thy spirit rest well in God. Pray for thy sister.

7. Regina, mayest thou live in the Lord Jesus (*vivas in Domino Jesu*).

8. To my good and sweetest husband Castorinus, who lived 61 years, 5 months and 10 days; well-deserving. His wife made this. Live in God!

9. Amerimnus to his dearest, well-deserving wife, Rufina. May God refresh thy spirit.

10. Sweet Faustina, mayest thou live in God.

11. Refresh, O God, the soul of . . .

12. Bolosa, may God refresh thee, who lived 31 years; died on the 19th of September. In Christ.

13. Peace to thy soul, Oxycholis.

14. Agape, thou shalt live forever.

15. In Christ. To Paulinus, a neophyte. In peace. Who lived 8 years.

16. Thy spirit in peace, Filmena.

17. In Christ. Æstonia, a virgin; a foreigner, who lived 41 years and 8 days. She departed from the body on the 26th of February.

18. Victorina in peace and in Christ.

19. Dafnen, a widow, who whilst she lived burdened the church in nothing.

20. To Leopardus, a neophyte, who lived 3 years, 11 months. Buried on the 24th of March. In peace.

21. To Felix, their well-deserving son, who lived 23 years and 10 days; who went out of the world a virgin and a neophyte. In peace. His parents made this. Buried on the 2^d of August.

22. Lucilianus to Bacijs Valerius, who lived 9 years, 8 [months], 22 days. A catechumen.

23. Septimius Prætextatus Cæcilianus, servant of God, who has led a worthy life. If I have served Thee [O Lord], I have not repented, and I will give thanks to Thy name. He gave up his soul to God (at the age of) thirty-three years and six months. [In the crypt of St.

Cecilia in St. Callisto. Probably a member of some noble family, the third name is mutilated. De Rossi assigns this epitaph to the beginning of the third century.]

24. Cornelius. Martyr. Ep. [iscopus].

II. THE AUTUN INSCRIPTION.

This Greek inscription was discovered A. D. 1839 in the cemetery Saint Pierre l'Estrier near Autun (Augustodunum, the ancient capital of Gallia Æduensis), first made known by Cardinal Pitra, and thoroughly discussed by learned archæologists of different countries. See the *Spicilegium Solesmense* (ed. by Pitra), vols. I.-III., Raf. Garrucci, *Monuments d'épigraphie ancienne*, Paris 1856, 1857; F. Lenormant, *Mémoire sur l'inscription d'Autun*, Paris 1855; H. B. Marriott, *The Testimony of the Catacombs*, Lond. 1870, pp. 118-188. The Jesuit fathers Secchi and Garrucci find in it conclusive evidence of transubstantiation and purgatory, but Marriott takes pains to refute them. Comp. also Schultze, *Katak.* p. 118. The Ichthys-symbol figures prominently in the inscription, and betrays an early origin, but archæologists differ: Pitra, Garrucci and others assign it to A. D. 160-202; Kirchhoff, Marriott, and Schultze, with greater probability, to the end of the fourth or the beginning of the fifth century, Lenormant and Le Blant to the fifth or sixth. De Rossi observes that the characters are not so old as the ideas which they express. The inscription has some gaps which must be filled out by conjecture. It is a memorial of Pectorius to his parents and friends, in two parts; the first six lines are an acrostic, (*Ichthys*), and contain words of the dead (probably the mother); in the second part the son speaks. The first seems to be older. Schultze conjectures that it is an old Christian hymn. The inscription begins with 'Ιχθὺς ο [ὑπαίου ἀγ]ίου [or perhaps θείου] γένος, and concludes with μνησθε Πεκτορίου, who prepared the monument for his parents. The following is the translation (partly conjectural) of Marriott (*l. c.* 118):

'Offspring of the heavenly ICHTHYS, see that a heart of holy reverence be thine, now that from Divine waters thou hast received, while yet among mortals, a fount of life that is to immortality. Quicken thy soul, beloved one, with ever-flowing waters of wealth-giving wisdom, and receive the honey-sweet food of the Saviour of the saints. Eat with a longing hunger, holding Ichthys in thine hands.'

'To Ichthys Come nigh unto me, my Lord [and] Saviour [be thou my Guide] I entreat Thee, Thou Light of them for whom the hour of death is past.'

'Aschandius, my Father, dear unto mine heart, and thou [sweet Mother, and all] that are mine remember Pectorius.'

§ 87. *Lessons of the Catacombs.*

The catacombs represent the subterranean Christianity of the ante-Nicene age. They reveal the Christian life in the face of death and eternity. Their vast extent, their solemn darkness, their labyrinthine mystery, their rude epitaphs, pictures, and sculptures, their relics of handicraft, worship, and martyrdom give us a lively and impressive idea of the social and domestic condition, the poverty and humility, the devotional spirit, the trials and sufferings, the faith and hope of the Christians from the death of the apostles to the conversion of Constantine. A modern visitor descending alive into this region of the dead, receives the same impression as St. Jerome more than fifteen centuries ago: he is overcome by the solemn darkness, the terrible silence, and the sacred associations; only the darkness is deeper, and the tombs are emptied of their treasures. "He who is thoroughly steeped in the imagery of the catacombs," says Dean Stanley, not without rhetorical exaggeration, "will be nearer to the thoughts of the early church than he who has learned by heart the most elaborate treatise even of Tertullian or of Origen."¹

The discovery of this subterranean necropolis has been made unduly subservient to polemical and apologetic purposes both by Roman Catholic and Protestant writers. The former seek and find in it monumental arguments for the worship of saints, images, and relics, for the cultus of the Virgin Mary, the primacy of Peter, the seven sacraments, the real presence, even for transubstantiation, and purgatory; while the latter see there the evidence of apostolic simplicity of life and worship, and an illustration of Paul's saying that God chose the foolish, the weak, and the despised things of the world to put to shame them that are wise and strong and mighty.¹

¹ *Study of Ecclesiastical History*, prefixed to his *Lectures on the History of the Eastern Church*, p. 59.

¹ The apologetic interest for Romanism is represented by Marchi, De Rossi, Garrucci, Le Blant, D. de Richemond, Armellini, Bartoli, Maurus, Wolter (*Die röm. Katakomben und die Sakramente der kath. Kirche*, 1866), Martigny

A full solution of the controversial questions would depend upon the chronology of the monuments and inscriptions, but this is exceedingly uncertain. The most eminent archæologists hold widely differing opinions. John Baptist de Rossi, of Rome, the greatest authority on the Roman Catholic side, traces some paintings and epitaphs in the crypts of St. Lucina and St. Domitilla back even to the close of the first century or the beginning of the second. On the other hand, J. H. Parker, of Oxford, an equally eminent archæologist, maintains that "fully three-fourths of the fresco-paintings belong to the latest restorations of the eighth and ninth centuries," and that "of the remaining fourth a considerable number are of the sixth century." He also asserts that in the catacomb pictures "there are no religious subjects before the time of Constantine, that "during the fourth and fifth centuries they are entirely confined to Scriptural subjects," and that there is "not a figure of a saint or martyr before the sixth century, and very few before the eighth, when they became abundant."¹ Renan assigns the earliest pictures of the catacombs to the fourth century, very few (in Domitilla) to the third.² Theodore Mommsen deems De Rossi's argument for the early date of the *Cæmeterium Domitillæ* before A. D. 95 inconclusive, and traces it rather to the times of Hadrian and Pius than to those of the Flavian emperors.³

(*Dictionaire*, etc., 1877), A. Kuhn (1877), Northcote and Brownlow (1879), F. X. Kraus (*Real-Encycl. der christl. Alterthümer*, 1880 sqq.), Diepolder (1882), and among periodicals, by De Rossi's *Bulletino*, the *Civiltà Cattolica*, the *Revue de l'art chrétien*, and the *Revue archéologique*. Among the Protestant writers on the catacombs are Piper, Parker, Maitland, Lundy, Withrow, Becker, Stanley, Schultze, Heinrici, and Roller. See among others: Heinrici, *Zur Deutung der Bildwerke altchristlicher Grabstätten*, in the "Studien und Kritiken" for 1882, p. 720-743, and especially Piper, *Monumentale Theologie*.

¹ *Catacombs*, Pref. p. xi. The writer of the article *Catacombs* in the "Encycl. Brit." v. 214 (ninth ed.), is of the same opinion: "It is tolerably certain that the existing frescos are restorations of the eighth, or even a later century, from which the character of the earlier work can only very imperfectly be discovered." He then refers to Parker's invaluable photographs taken in the catacombs by magnesian light, and condemns, with Milman, the finished drawings in Perret's costly work as worthless to the historian, who wants truth and fidelity.

² *Marc-Aurèle*, p. 543.

³ "Contemp. Rev." for May, 1871, p. 170.

But in any case it is unreasonable to seek in the catacombs for a complete creed any more than in a modern grave-yard. All we can expect there is the popular elements of eschatology, or the sentiments concerning death and eternity, with incidental traces of the private and social life of those times. Heathen, Jewish, Mohammedan, and Christian cemeteries have their characteristic peculiarities, yet all have many things in common which are inseparable from human nature. Roman Catholic cemeteries are easily recognized by crosses, crucifixes, and reference to purgatory and prayers for the dead; Protestant cemeteries by the frequency of Scripture passages in the epitaphs, and the expressions of hope and joy in prospect of the immediate transition of the pious dead to the presence of Christ. The catacombs have a character of their own, which distinguishes them from Roman Catholic as well as Protestant cemeteries.

Their most characteristic symbols and pictures are the Good Shepherd, the Fish, and the Vine. These symbols almost wholly disappeared after the fourth century, but to the mind of the early Christians they vividly expressed, in childlike simplicity, what is essential to Christians of all creeds, the idea of Christ and his salvation, as the only comfort in life and in death. The Shepherd, whether from the Sabine or the Galilean hills, suggested the recovery of the lost sheep, the tender care and protection, the green pasture and fresh fountain, the sacrifice of life: in a word, the whole picture of a Saviour.¹ The popu-

¹ Stanley, *l. c.*, p. 283: "What was the popular Religion of the first Christians? It was, in one word, the Religion of the Good Shepherd. The kindness, the courage, the grace, the love, the beauty of the Good Shepherd was to them, if we may so say, Prayer Book and Articles, Creeds and Canons, all in one. They looked on that figure, and it conveyed to them all that they wanted. As ages passed on, the Good Shepherd faded away from the mind of the Christian world, and other emblems of the Christian faith have taken his place. Instead of the gracious and gentle Pastor, there came the Omnipotent Judge or the Crucified Sufferer, or the Infant in His Mother's arms, or the Master in His Parting Supper, or the figures of innumerable saints and angels, or the elaborate expositions of the various forms of theological controversy."

larity of this picture enables us to understand the immense popularity of the Pastor of Hermas, a religious allegory which was written in Rome about the middle of the second century, and read in many churches till the fourth as a part of the New Testament (as in the Sinaitic Codex). The Fish expressed the same idea of salvation, under a different form, but only to those who were familiar with the Greek (the anagrammatic meaning of *Ichthys*) and associated the fish with daily food and the baptismal water of regeneration. The Vine again sets forth the vital union of the believer with Christ and the vital communion of all believers among themselves.

Another prominent feature of the catacombs is their hopeful and joyful eschatology. They proclaim in symbols and words a certain conviction of the immortality of the soul and the resurrection of the body, rooted and grounded in a living union with Christ in this world.¹ These glorious hopes comforted and strengthened the early Christians in a time of poverty, trial, and persecution. This character stands in striking contrast with the preceding and contemporary gloom of paganism, for which the future world was a blank, and with the succeeding gloom of the mediæval eschatology which presented the future world to the most serious Christians as a continuation of penal sufferings. This is the chief, we may say, the only *doctrinal*, lesson of the catacombs.

On some other points they incidentally shed new light, especially on the spread of Christianity and the origin of Christian art. Their immense extent implies that Christianity was

¹ See the concluding chapter in the work of Roller, II. 347 sqq. Raoul-Rochette characterizes the art of the Catacombs as "*un système d'illusions consolantes*." Schultze sees in the sepulchral symbols chiefly *Auferstehungsgedanken* and *Auferstehungshoffnungen*. Heinrici dissents from him by extending the symbolism to the present life as a life of hope in Christ. "*Nicht der Gedanke an die Auferstehung des Fleisches für sich, sondern die christliche Hoffnung überhaupt, wie sie aus der sicheren Lebensgemeinschaft mit Christus erblüht und Leben wie Sterben des Gläubigen beherrscht, bedingt die Wahl der religiös bedeutsamen Bilder. Sie sind nicht Symbole der einstigen Auferstehung, sondern des unverlierbaren Heilsbesitzes in Christus.*" ("Studien und Krit." 1842, p. 729).

numerically much stronger in heathen Rome than was generally supposed.¹ Their numerous decorations prove conclusively, either that the primitive Christian aversion to pictures and sculptures, inherited from the Jews, was not so general nor so long continued as might be inferred from some passages of ante-Nicene writers, or, what is more likely, that the popular love for art inherited from the Greeks and Romans was little affected by the theologians, and ultimately prevailed over the scruples of theorizers.

The first discovery of the catacombs was a surprise to the Christian world, and gave birth to wild fancies about the incalculable number of martyrs, the terrors of persecution, the subterranean assemblies of the early Christians, as if they lived and died, by necessity or preference, in darkness beneath the earth. A closer investigation has dispelled the romance, and deepened the reality.

There is no contradiction between the religion of the ante-Nicene monuments and the religion of the ante-Nicene literature. They supplement and illustrate each other. Both exhibit to us neither the mediæval Catholic nor the modern Protestant, but the post-apostolic Christianity of confessors and martyrs,—simple, humble, unpretending, unlearned, unworldly, strong in death and in the hope of a blissful resurrection; free from the distinctive dogmas and usages of later times; yet with that strong love for symbolism, mysticism, asceticism, and popular superstitions which we find in the writings of Justin Martyr, Tertullian, Clement of Alexandria, and Origen.

¹ Theodore Mommsen (in "The Contemp. Rev." for May, 1871, p. 167): "The enormous space occupied by the burial vaults of Christian Rome, in their extent not surpassed even by the system of cloacæ or sewers of Republican Rome, is certainly the work of that community which St. Paul addressed in his Epistle to the Romans—a living witness of its immense development, corresponding to the importance of the capital."

CHAPTER VIII.

CHRISTIAN LIFE IN CONTRAST WITH PAGAN CORRUPTION.

§ 88. *Literature.*

- I. SOURCES: The works of the APOSTOLIC FATHERS. The Apologies of JUSTIN. The practical treatises of TERTULLIAN. The Epistles of CYPRIAN. The Canons of Councils. The APOSTOLICAL CONSTITUTIONS and CANONS. The Acts of Martyrs.—On the condition of the Roman Empire: the Histories of TACITUS, Suetonius, and DION CASSIUS, the writings of SENECA, HORACE, JUVENAL, PERSIUS, MARTIAL.
- II. LITERATURE: W. CAVE: *Primitive Christianity, or the Religion of the Ancient Christians in the first ages of the Gospel.* London, fifth ed. 1689.
- G. ARNOLD: *Erste Liebe, d. i. Wahre Abbildung der ersten Christen nach ihrem lebendigen Glauben und heil. Leben.* Frankf. 1696, and often since.
- NEANDER: *Denkwürdigkeiten aus der Geschichte des christlichen Lebens* (first 1823), vol. i. third ed. Hamb. 1845. The same in English by Ryland: *Neander's Memorials of Christian Life*, in Bohn's Library, 1853.
- L. COLEMAN: *Ancient Christianity exemplified in the private, domestic, social, and civil Life of the Primitive Christians.* etc. Phil. 1853.
- C. SCHMIDT: *Essai historique sur la société dans le monde Romain, et sur la transformation par le Christianisme.* Par. 1853. The same transl. into German by A. V. Richard. Leipz. 1857.
- E. L. CHASTEL: *Études historiques sur l'influence de la charité durant les premiers siècles chrét.* Par. 1853. Crowned by the French Académie. The same transl. into English (*The Charity of the Primitive Churches*), by G. A. Matile. Phila. 1857.
- A. FR. VILLEMMAIN: *Nouveaux essais sur l'infl. du Christianisme dans le monde. Grec et Latin.* Par. 1853.
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- FR. J. M. TH. CHAMPAGNY: *Les premiers siècles de la charité.* Paris, 1854. Also his work *Les Antonins.* Paris, 1863, third ed. 1874, 8 vols.

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- G. RATZINGER: *Gesch. der kirchlichen Armenpflege*. Freib. 1859.
- W. E. H. LECKY: *History of European Morals from Augustus to Charlemagne*. Lond. and N. Y. 1869, 2 vols., 5th ed. Lond. 1882. German transl. by Dr. H. Jalowicz.
- MARIE-LOUIS-GASTON BOISSIER: *La Religion romaine d'Auguste aux Antonins*. Paris, 1874, 2 vols.
- BESTMANN: *Geschichte der christlichen Sitte*. Nördl. Bd. I. 1880.
- W. GASS: *Geschichte der christlichen Ethik*. Berlin, 1881 (vol. I. 49-107).
- G. UHLHORN: *Die christliche Liebesthätigkeit in der alten Kirche*. Stuttg. 1881. English translation (*Christian Charity in the Ancient Church*). Edinb. and N. York, 1883 (424 pages).
- CHARLES L. BRACE: *Gesta Christi: or a History of humane Progress under Christianity*. N. York, 1883 (500 pages).

§ 89. *Moral Corruption of the Roman Empire.*

- Besides the Lit. quoted in § 88, comp. the historical works on the Roman Empire by GIBBON, MERIVALE, and RANKE; also J. J. A. AMPÈRE's *Histoire Romaine à Rome* (1856-64, 4 vols.).
- FRIEDLAENDER's *Sittengeschichte Roms* (from Augustus to the Antonines. Leipzig, 3 vols., 5th ed. 1881); and MARQUARDT and MOMMSEN's *Handbuch der römischen Alterthümer* (Leipz. 1871, second ed. 1876, 7 vols., divided in *Staatsrecht*, *Staatsverwaltung*, *Privatleben*).

CHRISTIANITY is not only the revelation of truth, but also the fountain of holiness under the unceasing inspiration of the spotless example of its Founder, which is more powerful than all the systems of moral philosophy. It attests its divine origin as much by its moral workings as by its pure doctrines. By its own inherent energy, without noise and commotion, without the favor of circumstances, nay, in spite of all possible obstacles, it has gradually wrought the greatest moral reformation, we should rather say, regeneration of society which history has ever seen; while its purifying, ennobling, and cheering effects upon the private life of countless individuals are beyond the reach of the historian, though recorded in God's book of life to be opened on the day of judgment.

To appreciate this work, we must first review the moral condition of heathenism in its mightiest embodiment in history.

When Christianity took firm foothold on earth, the pagan civilization and the Roman empire had reached their zenith. The reign of Augustus was the golden age of Roman literature; his successors added Britain and Dacia to the conquests of the Republic; internal organization was perfected by Trajan and the Antonines. The fairest countries of Europe, and a considerable part of Asia and Africa stood under one imperial government with republican forms, and enjoyed a well-ordered jurisdiction. Piracy on the seas was abolished; life and property were secure. Military roads, canals, and the Mediterranean Sea facilitated commerce and travel; agriculture was improved, and all branches of industry flourished. Temples, theatres, aqueducts, public baths, and magnificent buildings of every kind adorned the great cities; institutions of learning disseminated culture; two languages with a classic literature were current in the empire, the Greek in the East, the Latin in the West; the book trade, with the manufacture of paper, was a craft of no small importance, and a library belonged to every respectable house. The book stores and public libraries were in the most lively streets of Rome, and resorted to by literary people. Hundreds of slaves were employed as scribes, who wrote simultaneously at the dictation of one author or reader, and multiplied copies almost as fast as the modern printing press.¹ The excavations of Pompeii and Herculaneum reveal a high degree of convenience and taste in domestic life even in provincial towns;

¹ Friedlaender, III. 369 sqq. (5th ed.), gives much interesting information about the book trade in Rome, which was far more extensive than is generally supposed, and was facilitated by slave-labor. Books were cheap. The first book of Martial (over 700 verses in 118 poems) cost in the best outfit only 5 denarii (80 cts.) Julius Cæsar conceived the plan of founding public libraries, but was prevented from carrying it into effect. In the fourth century there were no less than twenty-eight public libraries in Rome. The ease and enjoyment of reading, however, were considerably diminished by the many errors, the absence of division and punctuation. Asinius Pollio introduced the custom of public readings of new works before invited circles.

and no one can look without amazement at the sublime and eloquent ruins of Rome, the palaces of the Cæsars, the Mausoleum of Hadrian, the Baths of Caracalla, the Aqueducts, the triumphal arches and columns, above all the Colosseum, built by Vespasian, to a height of one hundred and fifty feet, and for more than eighty thousand spectators. The period of eighty-four years from the accession of Nerva to the death of Marcus Aurelius has been pronounced by high authority "the most happy and prosperous period in the history of the world."¹

But this is only a surface view. The inside did not correspond to the outside. Even under the Antonines the majority of men groaned under the yoke of slavery or poverty; gladiatorial shows brutalized the people; fierce wars were raging on the borders of the empire; and the most virtuous and peaceful of subjects—the Christians—had no rights, and were liable at any moment to be thrown before wild beasts, for no other reason than the profession of their religion. The age of the full bloom of the Græco-Roman power was also the beginning of its decline. This imposing show concealed incurable moral putridity and indescribable wretchedness. The colossal piles of architecture owed their erection to the bloody sweat of innumerable slaves, who were treated no better than so many beasts of burden; on the Flavian amphitheatre alone toiled twelve thousand Jewish prisoners of war; and it was built to gratify the cruel taste of the people for the slaughter of wild animals and human beings made in the image of God. The influx of wealth from conquered nations diffused the most extravagant luxury, which collected for a single meal peacocks from Samos, pike from Pessinus, oysters from Tarentum, dates from Egypt, nuts from Spain, in short the rarest dishes from all parts of the world, and resorted to emetics to stimulate appetite and to lighten the stomach. "They eat," says Seneca, "and then they vomit; they vomit, and then they eat." Apicius, who lived under Tiberius, dissolved pearls in the wine he drank,

¹ Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, ch. III. Renan expresses the same view.

squandered an enormous fortune on the pleasures of the table, and then committed suicide.¹ He found imperial imitators in Vitellius and Heliogabalus (or Elagabal). A special class of servants, the cosmetes, had charge of the dress, the smoothing of the wrinkles, the setting of the false teeth, the painting of the eye-brows, of wealthy patricians. Hand in hand with this luxury came the vices of natural and even unnatural sensuality, which decency forbids to name. Hopeless poverty stood in crying contrast with immense wealth; exhausted provinces, with revelling cities. Enormous taxes burdened the people, and misery was terribly increased by war, pestilence, and famine. The higher or ruling families were enervated, and were not strengthened or replenished by the lower. The free citizens lost physical and moral vigor, and sank to an inert mass. The third class was the huge body of slaves, who performed all kinds of mechanical labor, even the tilling of the soil, and in times of danger were ready to join the enemies of the empire. A proper middle class of industrious citizens, the only firm basis of a healthy community, cannot coëxist with slavery, which degrades free labor. The army, composed

¹ Either from disgust of life, or because he thought he could not live off the remaining ten million of sesterces, after he had wasted sixty or a hundred million. Seneca, *Ad Helv.* x. 9. Heliogabalus chose Apicius as his model. These, however, are exceptional cases, and became proverbial. See on this whole subject of Roman luxury the third volume of Friedländer's *Sittengeschichte*, pp. 1-152. He rather modifies the usual view, and thinks that Apicius had more imitators among French epicures under Louis XIV., XV., and XVI. than among the Roman nobles, and that some petty German princes of the eighteenth century, like King August of Saxony (who wasted eighty thousand thalers on a single opera), and Duke Karl of Württemberg, almost equalled the heathen emperors in extravagance and riotous living, at the expense of their poor subjects. The wealth of the old Romans was much surpassed by that of some modern Russian and English noblemen, French bankers, and American merchant princes, but had a much greater purchasing value. The richest Romans were Ca. Lentulus, and Narcissus (a freedman of Nero), and their fortune amounted to four hundred million sesterces (from sixty-five to seventy million marks); while Mazarin left two hundred million francs, Baron James Rothschild (d. 1868) two thousand million francs (*l. c.* p. 13 sqq.). The architecture of the imperial age surpassed all modern palaces in extravagance and splendor, but in parks and gardens the modern English far surpass the ancient Romans (p. 78 sqq.).

largely of the rudest citizens and of barbarians, was the strength of the nation, and gradually stamped the government with the character of military despotism. The virtues of patriotism, and of good faith in public intercourse, were extinct. The basest avarice, suspicion and envy, usuriousness and bribery, insolence and servility, everywhere prevailed.

The work of demoralizing the people was systematically organized and sanctioned from the highest places downwards. There were, it is true, some worthy emperors of old Roman energy and justice, among whom Trajan, Antoninus Pius, and Marcus Aurelius stand foremost; all honor to their memory. But the best they could do was to check the process of internal putrefaction, and to conceal the sores for a little while; they could not heal them. Most of the emperors were coarse military despots, and some of them monsters of wickedness. There is scarcely an age in the history of the world, in which so many and so hideous vices disgraced the throne, as in the period from Tiberius to Domitian, and from Commodus to Galerius. "The annals of the emperors," says Gibbon, "exhibit a strong and various picture of human nature, which we should vainly seek among the mixed and doubtful characters of modern history. In the conduct of those monarchs we may trace the utmost lines of vice and virtue; the most exalted perfection and the meanest degeneracy of our own species."¹ "Never, probably," says Canon Farrar, "was there any age or any place where the worst forms of wickedness were practised with a more unblushing effrontery than in the city of Rome under the government of the Cæsars."² We may not even except the infamous period of the papal pornography, and the reign of Alexander Borgia, which were of short duration, and excited disgust and indignation throughout the church.

The Pagan historians of Rome have branded and immortalized the vices and crimes of the Cæsars: the misanthropy, cruelty, and voluptuousness of Tiberius; the ferocious madness

¹ *Decline and Fall*, ch. III.

² *Seekers after God*, p. 37.

of Caius Caligula, who had men tortured, beheaded, or sawed in pieces for his amusement, who seriously meditated the butchery of the whole senate, raised his horse to the dignity of consul and priest, and crawled under the bed in a storm; the bottomless vileness of Nero, "the inventor of crime," who poisoned or murdered his preceptors Burrhus and Seneca, his half-brother and brother-in-law Britannicus, his mother Agrippina, his wife Octavia, his mistress Poppæa, who in sheer wantonness set fire to Rome, and then burnt innocent Christians for it as torches in his gardens, figuring himself as charioteer in the infernal spectacle; the swinish gluttony of Vitellius, who consumed millions of money in mere eating; the refined wickedness of Domitian, who, more a cat than a tiger, amused himself most with the torments of the dying and with catching flies; the shameless revelry of Commodus with his hundreds of concubines, and ferocious passion for butchering men and beasts on the arena; the mad villainy of Heliogabalus, who raised the lowest men to the highest dignities, dressed himself in women's clothes, married a dissolute boy like himself, in short, inverted all the laws of nature and of decency, until at last he was butchered with his mother by the soldiers, and thrown into the muddy Tiber. And to fill the measure of impiety and wickedness, such imperial monsters were received, after their death, by a formal decree of the Senate, into the number of their gods, and their abandoned memory was celebrated by festivals, temples, and colleges of priests! The emperor, in the language of Gibbon, was at once "a priest, an atheist, and a god." Some added to it the dignity of amateur actor and gladiator on the stage. Domitian, even in his lifetime, caused himself to be called "*Dominus et Deus noster*," and whole herds of animals to be sacrificed to his gold and silver statues. It is impossible to imagine a greater public and official mockery of all religion.

The wives and mistresses of the emperors were not much better. They revelled in luxury and vice, swept through the streets in chariots drawn by silver-shod mules, wasted fortunes on a single dress, delighted in wicked intrigues, aided their

husbands in dark crimes, and shared at last in their tragic fate. Messalina, the wife of Claudius, was murdered by the order of her husband in the midst of her nuptial orgies with one of her favorites; and the younger Agrippina, the mother of Nero, after poisoning her husband, was murdered by her own son, who was equally cruel to his wives, kicking one of them to death when she was in a state of pregnancy. These female monsters were likewise deified, and elevated to the rank of Juno or Venus.

From the higher regions the corruption descended into the masses of the people, who by this time had no sense for anything but "*Panem et Circenses*," and, in the enjoyment of these, looked with morbid curiosity and interest upon the most flagrant vices of their masters.

No wonder that Tacitus, who with terse eloquence and old Roman severity exposes the monstrous characters of Nero and other emperors to eternal infamy, could nowhere, save perhaps among the barbarian Germans, discover a star of hope, and forehoded the fearful vengeance of the gods, and even the speedy destruction of the empire. And certainly nothing could save it from final doom, whose approach was announced with ever-growing distinctness by wars, insurrections, inundations, earthquakes, pestilence, famine, irruption of barbarians, and prophetic calamities of every kind. Ancient Rome, in the slow but certain process of dissolution and decay, teaches the

" . . . sad moral of all human tales;
 'Tis but the same rehearsal of the past;
 First freedom, and then glory—when that fails,
 Wealth, vice, corruption, barbarism at last."

§ 90. *Stoic Morality.*

- ED. ZELLER: *The Stoics, Epicureans, and Sceptics. Translated from the German by O. J. Reichel.* London (Longman, Green & Co.), 1870. Chs. x-xii treat of the Stoic Ethics and Religion.
- F. W. FARRAR (Canon of Westminster): *Seekers after God.* London (Macmillan & Co.), first ed. n. d. (1869), new ed. 1877 (Seneca, Epictetus, and Marcus Aurelius, 336 pages).

Comp. also the essays on *Seneca and Paul* by FLEURY, AUBERTIN, BAUR, LIGHTFOOT, and REUSS (quoted in vol. I. 283).

Let us now turn to the bright side of heathen morals, as exhibited in the teaching and example of Epictetus, Marcus Aurelius, and Plutarch—three pure and noble characters—one a slave, the second an emperor, the third a man of letters, two of them Stoics, one a Platonist. It is refreshing to look upon a few green spots in the moral desert of heathen Rome. We may trace their virtue to the guidance of conscience (the good demon of Socrates), or to the independent working of the Spirit of God, or to the indirect influence of Christianity, which already began to pervade the moral atmosphere beyond the limits of the visible church, and to infuse into legislation a spirit of humanity and justice unknown before, or to all these causes combined. It is certain that there was in the second century a moral current of unconscious Christianity, which met the stronger religious current of the church and facilitated her ultimate victory.

It is a remarkable fact that two men who represent the extremes of society, the lowest and the highest, were the last and greatest teachers of natural virtue in ancient Rome. They shine like lone stars in the midnight darkness of prevailing corruption. Epictetus the slave, and Marcus Aurelius, the crowned ruler of an empire, are the purest among the heathen moralists, and furnish the strongest "testimonies of the naturally Christian soul."

Both belonged to the school of Zeno.

The Stoic philosophy was born in Greece, but grew into manhood in Rome. It was predestinated for that stern, grave, practical, haughty, self-governing and heroic character which from the banks of the Tiber ruled over the civilized world.¹

¹ Zeller, *l. c.* p. 37: "Nearly all the most important Stoics before the Christian era belong by birth to Asia Minor, to Syria, and to the islands of the Eastern Archipelago. Then follow a line of Roman Stoics, among whom the Phrygian Epictetus occupies a prominent place; but Greece proper is exclusively represented by men of third or fourth-rate capacity."

In the Republican period Cato of Utica lived and died by his own hand a genuine Stoic in practice, without being one in theory. Seneca, the contemporary of St. Paul, was a Stoic in theory, but belied his almost Christian wisdom in practice, by his insatiable avarice, anticipating Francis Bacon as "the wisest, brightest, meanest of mankind."¹ Half of his ethics is mere rhetoric. In Epictetus and Marcus Aurelius the Stoic theory and practice met in beautiful harmony, and freed from its most objectionable features. They were the last and the best of that school which taught men to live and to die, and offered an asylum for individual virtue and freedom when the Roman world at large was rotten to the core.

Stoicism is of all ancient systems of philosophy both nearest to, and furthest from, Christianity: nearest in the purity and sublimity of its maxims and the virtues of simplicity, equanimity, self-control, and resignation to an all-wise Providence; furthest in the spirit of pride, self-reliance, haughty contempt,

¹ Niebuhr says of Seneca: "He acted on the principle that he could dispense with the laws of morality which he laid down for others." Macaulay: "The business of the philosopher was to declaim in praise of poverty, with two millions sterling at usury; to meditate epigrammatic conceits about the evils of luxury in gardens which moved the envy of sovereigns; to rant about liberty while fawning on the insolent and pampered freedman of a tyrant; to celebrate the divine beauty of virtue with the same pen which had just before written a defense of the murder of a mother by a son." Farrar (*l. c.* p. 161): "In Seneca's life, we see as clearly as in those of many professed Christians that it is impossible to be at once worldly and righteous. His utter failure was due to the vain attempt to combine in his own person two opposite characters—that of a Stoic and that of a courtier . . . In him we see some of the most glowing pictures of the nobility of poverty combined with the most questionable avidity in the pursuit of wealth." For a convenient collection of Seneca's resemblances to Scripture, see Farrar, *ch. XV.*, 174-185. The most striking passages are: "A sacred spirit dwells within us, the observer and guardian of all our evil and our good . . . there is no good man without God." *Ep. ad Lucil.* 41. *Comp.* 1 Cor. 3: 16. "Not one of us is without fault . . . no man is found who can acquit himself." *De Ira* I. 14; II. 27. *Comp.* 1 John 1: 8. "Riches . . . the greatest source of human trouble." *De Tranq. An.* 8. *Comp.* 1 Tim. 6: 10. "You must live for another, if you wish to live for yourself." *Ep.* 48. *Comp.* Rom. 12: 10. "Let him who hath conferred a favor hold his tongue." *De Benef.* II. 11. *Comp.* Matt. 6: 3.

and cold indifference. Pride is the basis of Stoic virtue, while humility is the basis of Christian holiness; the former is inspired by egotism, the latter by love to God and man; the Stoic feels no need of a Saviour, and calmly resorts to suicide when the house smokes; while the Christian life begins with a sense of sin, and ends with triumph over death; the resignation of the Stoic is heartless apathy and a surrender to the iron necessity of fate; the resignation of the Christian, is cheerful submission to the will of an all-wise and all-merciful Father in heaven; the Stoic sage resembles a cold, immovable statue, the Christian saint a living body, beating in hearty sympathy with every joy and grief of his fellow-men. At best, Stoicism is only a philosophy for the few, while Christianity is a religion for all.

§ 91. *Epictetus.*

EPICTETI. *Dissertationum ab Arriano digestarum Libri IV. Eiusdem Enchiridion et ex deperditis Sermonibus Fragmenta . . . recensuit . . .* JOH. SCHWEIGHÄUSER. Lips. 1799, 1800. 5 vols. The Greek text with a Latin version and notes.

The Works of EPICTETUS. Consisting of his Discourses, in four books, the Enchiridion, and Fragments. A translation from the Greek, based on that of Mrs. Elizabeth Carter, by THOMAS WENTWORTH HIGGINSON. Boston (Little, Brown & Co.), 1865. A fourth ed. of Mrs. Carter's translation was published in 1807, with introduction and notes.

The Discourses of EPICTETUS, with the Enchiridion and Fragments. Translated, with Notes, etc., by GEORGE LONG. London (George Bell & Sons), 1877.

There are also other English, as well as German and French, versions.

Epictetus was born before the middle of the first century, at Hierapolis, a city in Phrygia, a few miles from Colossæ and Laodicea, well known to us from apostolic history. He was a compatriot and contemporary of Epaphras, a pupil of Paul, and founder of Christian churches in that province.¹ There is

a bare possibility that he had a passing acquaintance with him, if not with Paul himself. He came as a slave to Rome with his master, Epaphroditus, a profligate freedman and favorite of Nero (whom he aided in committing suicide), and was afterwards set at liberty. He rose above his condition. "Freedom and slavery," he says in one of his Fragments, "are but names of virtue and of vice, and both depend upon the will. No one is a slave whose will is free." He was lame in one foot and in feeble health. The lameness, if we are to credit the report of Origen, was the result of ill treatment, which he bore heroically. When his master put his leg in the torture, he quietly said: "You will break my leg;" and when the leg was broken, he added: "Did I not tell you so?" This reminds one of Socrates who is reported to have borne a scolding and subsequent shower from Xantippe with the cool remark: After the thunder comes the rain. Epictetus heard the lectures of Musonius Rufus, a distinguished teacher of the Stoic philosophy under Nero and Vespasian, and began himself to teach. He was banished from Rome by Domitian, with all other philosophers, before A. D. 90. He settled for the rest of his life in Nicopolis, in Southern Epirus, not far from the scene of the battle of Actium. There he gathered around him a large body of pupils, old and young, rich and poor, and instructed them, as a second Socrates, by precept and example, in halls and public places. The emperor Hadrian is reported to have invited him back to Rome (117), but in vain. The date of his death is unknown.

Epictetus led from principle and necessity a life of poverty and extreme simplicity, after the model of Diogenes, the arch-Cynic. His only companions were an adopted child with a nurse. His furniture consisted of a bed, a cooking vessel and earthen lamp. Lucian ridicules one of his admirers, who bought the lamp for three thousand drachmas, in the hope of becoming a philosopher by using it. Epictetus discouraged marriage and the procreation of children. Marriage might do well in a "community of wise men," but "in the present state

of things," which he compared to "an army in battle array," it is likely to withdraw the philosopher from the service of God.¹ This view, as well as the reason assigned, resembles the advice of St. Paul, with the great difference, that the apostle had the highest conception of the institution of marriage as reflecting the mystery of Christ's union with the church. "Look at me," says Epictetus, "who am without a city, without a house, without possessions, without a slave; I sleep on the ground; I have no wife, no children, no prætorium, but only the earth and the heavens, and one poor cloak. And what do I want? Am I not without sorrow? Am I not without fear? Am I not free? . . . Did I ever blame God or man? . . . Who, when he sees me, does not think that he sees his king and master?" His epitaph fitly describes his character: "I was Epictetus, a slave, and maimed in body, and a beggar for poverty, and dear to the immortals."

Epictetus, like Socrates, his great exemplar, wrote nothing himself, but he found a Xenophon. His pupil and friend, Flavius Arrianus, of Nicomedia, in Bithynia, the distinguished historian of Alexander the Great, and a soldier and statesman under Hadrian, handed to posterity a report of the oral instructions and familiar conversations (*διατριβαί*) of his teacher. Only four of the original eight books remain. He also collected his chief maxims in a manual (*Enchiridion*). His biography of that remarkable man is lost.

Epictetus starts, like Zeno and Cleanthes, with a thoroughly practical view of philosophy, as the art and exercise of virtue, in accordance with reason and the laws of nature. He bases virtue on faith in God, as the supreme power of the universe, who directs all events for benevolent purposes. The philosopher is a teacher of righteousness, a physician and surgeon of the sick who feel their weakness, and are anxious to be cured. He

¹ *Disc.* III. 22. *Comp.* 1 Cor. 7: 35; but also Eph. 5: 28-33. Farrar, *l. c.*, p. 213, thinks that the philosopher and the apostle agree in recommending celibacy as "a counsel of perfection." But this is the Roman Catholic, not the Scripture view.

is a priest and messenger of the gods to erring men, that they might learn to be happy even in utter want of earthly possessions. If we wish to be good, we must first believe that we are bad. Mere knowledge without application to life is worthless. Every man has a guardian spirit, a god within him who never sleeps, who always keeps him company, even in solitude; this is the Socratic *daimonion*, the personified conscience. We must listen to its divine voice. "Think of God more often than you breathe. Let discourse of God be renewed daily, more surely than your food." The sum of wisdom is to desire nothing but freedom and contentment, and to bear and forbear. All unavoidable evil in the world is only apparent and external, and does not touch our being. Our happiness depends upon our own will, which even Zeus cannot break. The wise man joyously acquiesces in what he cannot control, knowing that an all-wise Father rules the whole. "We ought to have these two rules always in readiness: that there is nothing good or evil except in the will; and that we ought not to lead events, but to follow them."¹ If a brother wrongs me, that is his fault; my business is to conduct myself rightly towards him. The wise man is not disturbed by injury and injustice, and loves even his enemies. All men are brethren and children of God. They own the whole world; and hence even banishment is no evil. The soul longs to be freed from the prison house of the body and to return to God.

Yet Epictetus does not clearly teach the immortality of the soul. He speaks of death as a return to the elements in successive conflagrations. Seneca approaches much more nearly the Platonic and Socratic, we may say Christian, view of immortality. The prevailing theory of the Stoics was, that at the end of the world all individual souls will be resolved into the primary substance of the Divine Being.²

¹ *Discourses*, III. 10. Here E. discusses the manner in which we ought to bear sickness.

² The only point about which the Stoics were undecided was, whether all souls would last until that time as separate souls, or whether, as Chrysippus held, only the souls of the wise would survive." Zeller, *l. c.*, p. 205.

Epictetus nowhere alludes directly to Christianity, but he speaks once of "Galileans," who by enthusiasm or madness were free from all fear.¹ He often recurs to his predecessors, Socrates, Diogenes, Zeno, Musonius Rufus. His ethical ideal is a Cynic philosopher, naked, penniless, wifeless, childless, without want or desire, without passion or temper, kindly, independent, contented, imperturbable, looking serenely or indifferently at life and death. It differs as widely from the true ideal as Diogenes who lived in a tub, and sought with a lantern in day-light for "a man," differs from Christ who, indeed, had not where to lay his head, but went about doing good to the bodies and souls of men.

Owing to the purity of its morals, the *Enchiridion* of Epictetus was a favorite book. Simplicius, a Neo-Platonist, wrote an elaborate commentary on it; and monks in the middle ages reproduced and Christianized it. Origen thought Epictetus had done more good than Plato. Niebuhr says: "His greatness cannot be questioned, and it is impossible for any person of sound mind not to be charmed by his works." Higginson says: "I am acquainted with no book more replete with high conceptions of the deity and noble aims of man." This is, of course, a great exaggeration, unless the writer means to confine his comparison to heathen works.

§ 92. *Marcus Aurelius.*

Μάρκου Ἀντωνίνου τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος τῶν εἰς ἐνδρὸν βιβλία ἑβ' (*De Rebus suis libri xii*). Ed. by THOMAS GATAKER, with a Latin Version and Notes (including those of Casaubon). Trajecti at Rhenum, 1697, 2 vols. fol. The second vol. contains critical dissertations. (The

¹ *Disc.* IV. 7: "Through madness (*ἐνδὸς μανίας*) it is possible for a man to be so disposed towards these things and through habit (*ἐνδὸς ἔθους*), as the Galileans." By Galileans he no doubt means Christians, and the allusion is rather contemptuous, like the allusion of Marcus Aurelius to the martyrs, with this difference that the emperor attributes to obstinacy what Epictetus attributes to "habit." But Schweighäuser (*II.* 913 sq.) suspects that the reading *ἐνδὸς ἔθους* is false, and that Arrian wrote *ἐνδὸς ἀπονοίας*, *ὡς οἱ Γαλ.*, so that Epictetus ascribed to the Christians fury and desperation or *dementia*. To the Greeks the gospel is foolishness, 1 Cor. 1: 22.

first ed. appeared at Cambridge, 1652, in 1 vol.) English translation by GEORGE LONG, revised ed. London, 1880.

See the liter. quoted in § 20, p. 52 sq. (especially Renan's *Marc-Aurèle*, 1882).

Marcus Aurelius, the last and best representative of Stoicism, ruled the Roman Empire for twenty years (A. D. 161-180) at the height of its power and prosperity. He was born April 26, 121, in Rome, and carefully educated and disciplined in Stoic wisdom. Hadrian admired him for his good nature, docility, and veracity, and Antoninus Pius adopted him as his son and successor. He learned early to despise the vanities of the world, maintained the simplicity of a philosopher in the splendor of the court, and found time for retirement and meditation amid the cares of government and border wars, in which he was constantly engaged. Epictetus was his favorite author. He left us his best thoughts, a sort of spiritual autobiography, in the shape of a diary which he wrote, not without some self-complacency, for his own improvement and enjoyment during the last years of his life (172-175) in the military camp among the barbarians. He died in Panonia of the pestilence which raged in the army (March 17, 180).¹ His last words were: "Weep not for me, weep over the pestilence and the general misery,"² and save the army. Farewell!" He dismissed his servants and friends, even his son, after a last interview, and died alone.

The philosophic emperor was a sincere believer in the gods, their revelations and all-ruling providence. His morality and religion were blended. But he had no clear views of the divinity. He alternately uses the language of the polytheist, the deist, and the pantheist. He worshipped the deity of the universe and in his own breast. He thanks the gods for his good parents and teachers, for his pious mother, for a wife,

¹ According to less probable accounts he died of suicide, or of poison administered to him by order of his son, Commodus. See Renan, p. 485.

² "*Quid me fletis, et non magis de pestilentia et communi morte cogitatis?*" Capitolinus, *M. Aurelius*.

whom he blindly praises as "amiable, affectionate, and pure," and for all the goods of life. His motto was "never to wrong any man in deed or word."¹ He claimed no perfection, yet was conscious of his superiority, and thankful to the gods that he was better than other men. He traced the sins of men merely to ignorance and error. He was mild, amiable, and gentle; in these respects the very reverse of a hard and severe Stoic, and nearly approaching a disciple of Jesus. We must admire his purity, truthfulness, philanthropy, conscientious devotion to duty, his serenity of mind in the midst of the temptations of power and severe domestic trials, and his resignation to the will of providence. He was fully appreciated in his time, and universally beloved by his subjects. We may well call him among the heathen the greatest and best man of his age.² "It seems" (says an able French writer, Martha), "that in him the philosophy of heathenism grows less proud, draws nearer and nearer to a Christianity which it ignored or which it despised, and is ready to fling itself into the arms of the 'Unknown God.' In the sad *Meditations* of Aurelius we find a pure serenity, sweetness, and docility to the commands of God, which before him were unknown, and which Christian grace has alone surpassed. If he has not yet attained to charity in all that fullness of meaning which Christianity has given to the world, he has

¹ *Medit.* v. 31.

² So Renan, *Marc-Aurèle*, p. 488, without qualification: "*Avec lui, la philosophie a régné. Un moment, grâce à lui, le monde a été gouverné par l'homme le meilleur et le plus grand de son siècle.*" But elsewhere he puts Antoninus Pius above Aurelius. "Of the two," he says (*Conférences d'Angleterre*, translated by Clara Erskine Clement, p. 140 sq.): "I consider Antonine the greatest. His goodness did not lead him into faults: he was not tormented with that internal trouble which disturbed, without ceasing, the heart of his adopted son. This strange malady, this restless study of himself, this demon of scrupulousness, this fever of perfection, are signs of a less strong and distinguished nature. As the finest thoughts are those which are not written, Antonine had in this respect also a superiority over Marcus Aurelius. But let us add, that we should be ignorant of Antonine, if Marcus Aurelius had not transmitted to us that exquisite portrait of his adopted father, in which he seems to have applied himself through humility, to painting the picture of a better man than himself."

already gained its unction, and one cannot read his book, unique in the history of Pagan philosophy, without thinking of the sadness of Pascal and the gentleness of Fénelon."

The Meditations of Marcus Aurelius are full of beautiful moral maxims, strung together without system. They bear a striking resemblance to Christian ethics. They rise to a certain universalism and humanitarianism which is foreign to the heathen spirit, and a prophecy of a new age, but could only be realized on a Christian basis. Let us listen to some of his most characteristic sentiments:

"It is sufficient to attend to the demon [the good genius] within, and to reverence it sincerely. And reverence for the demon consists in keeping it pure from passion and thoughtlessness and dissatisfaction with what comes from God and men."¹ "Do not act as if thou wert going to live ten thousand years. Death hangs over thee. While thou livest, while it is in thy power, be good."² "Do not disturb thyself. Make thyself all simplicity. Does any one do wrong? It is to himself that he does the wrong. Has anything happened to thee? Well; out of the universe from the beginning everything which happens has been apportioned and spun out to thee. In a word, thy life is short. Thou must turn to profit the present by the aid of reason and justice. Be sober in thy relaxation. Either it is a well-arranged universe or a chaos huddled together, but still a universe."³ "A man must stand erect, and not be kept erect by others."⁴ "Have I done something for the general interest? Well, then, I have had my reward. Let this always be present to my mind, and never stop [doing good]."⁵ "What is thy art? to be good."⁶ "It is a man's duty to comfort himself, and to wait for the natural dissolution, and not to be vexed at the delay."⁷ "O Nature: from thee are all things, in thee are all things, to thee all things return."⁸ "Willingly give thyself up to Clotho" [one of the fates], "allowing her to spin thy thread into whatever things she pleases. Every thing is only

¹ *Medit.* II. 13.² IV. 17.³ IV. 26, 27.⁴ III. 5.⁵ IX. 4.⁶ IX. 5.⁷ V. 10.⁸ IV. 23.

for a day, both that which remembers and that which is remembered."¹ "Consider that before long thou wilt be nobody and nowhere, nor will any of the things exist which thou now seest, nor any of those who are now living. For all things are formed by nature to change and be turned, and to perish, in order that other things in continuous succession may exist."² "It is best to leave this world as early as possible, and to bid it friendly farewell."³

These reflections are pervaded by a tone of sadness; they excite emotion, but no enthusiasm; they have no power to console, but leave an aching void, without hope of an immortality, except a return to the bosom of mother nature. They are the rays of a setting, not of a rising, sun; they are the swan-song of dying Stoicism. The end of that noble old Roman was virtually the end of the antique world.⁴

The cosmopolitan philosophy of Marcus Aurelius had no sympathy with Christianity, and excluded from its embrace the most innocent and most peaceful of his subjects. He makes but one allusion to the Christians, and unjustly traces their readiness for martyrdom to "sheer obstinacy" and a desire for "theatrical display."⁵ He may have had in view some fanatical enthusiasts who rushed into the fire, like Indian gymnosophists, but possibly such venerable martyrs as Polycarp and those of Southern Gaul in his own reign. Hence the strange phenomenon that the wisest and best of Roman emperors permitted (we cannot say, instigated, or even authorized) some of the most cruel persecutions of Christians, especially in Lugdunum and

¹ IV. 34, 35.

² XII. 21.

³ IX. 2, 3; XI. 3.

⁴ The significant title of Renan's book is *Marc-Aurèle et la fin du monde antique*.

⁵ XI. 3: "What a soul that is which is ready, if at any moment it must be separated from the body, and ready either to be extinguished or dispersed, or continue to exist; but so that this readiness comes from a man's own judgment, not from mere obstinacy, as with the Christians, but considerately and with dignity, and in a way to persuade another without scenic show (*ἀρπαγδωρ*)."⁵ I have availed myself in these extracts of Long's excellent translation, but compared them with the Greek original in Gataker's edition.

Vienne. We readily excuse him on the ground of ignorance. He probably never saw the Sermon on the Mount, nor read any of the numerous Apologies addressed to him.

But persecution is not the only blot on his reputation. He wasted his affections upon a vicious and worthless son, whom he raised in his fourteenth year to full participation of the imperial power, regardless of the happiness of millions, and upon a beautiful but faithless and wicked wife, whom he hastened after her death to cover with divine honors. His conduct towards Faustina was either hypocritical or unprincipled.¹ After her death he preferred a concubine to a second wife and stepmother of his children.

His son and successor left the Christians in peace, but was one of the worst emperors that disgraced the throne, and undid all the good which his father had done.²

Aristotle was the teacher of Alexander; Seneca, the teacher of Nero; Marcus Aurelius, the father of Commodus.

§ 93. *Plutarch.*

Πλουτάρχου τοῦ Χαιρωνέως τὰ Ἠθικά. Ed. Tauchnitz Lips. The same with a Latin version and notes in

¹ At his earnest request the obsequious Senate declared Faustina a goddess; she was represented in her temples with the attributes of Juno, Venus, and Ceres; and it was decreed that on the day of their nuptials the youth of both sexes should pay their vows before the altar of this adulterous woman. See Gibbon, ch. IV. A bas-relief in the museum of the Capitol at Rome represents Faustina borne to heaven by a messenger of the gods, and her husband looking at her with admiration and love. Renan apologizes for his favorite hero on the ground of the marvellous beauty of Faustina, and excuses her, because she naturally grew tired of the dull company of an ascetic philosopher!

² Renan thus describes the sudden relapse (p. 490): "*Horrible déception pour les gens de bien! Tant de vertu, tant d'amour n'aboutissant qu'à mettre le monde entre les mains d'un équarisseur de bêtes, d'un gladiateur! Après cette belle apparition d'un monde élyséen sur la terre, retomber dans l'enfer des Césars, qu'on croyait fermé pour toujours! La foi dans le bien fut alors perdue. Après Caligula, après Néron, après Domitien, on avait pu espérer encore. Les expériences n'avaient pas été décisives. Maintenant, c'est après le plus grand effort de rationalisme gouvernemental, après quatre-vingt quatre ans d'un régime excellent, après Nerva, Trajan, Adrien, Antonin, Marc-Aurèle, que le règne du mal recommence, pire que jamais. Adieu, vertu; adieu, raison. Puisque Marc-Aurèle n'a pas pu sauver le monde, qui le sauvera?*"

PLUTARCHI *Charonensis Moralia, id est, Opera, exceptis vitis, reliqua.*

Ed. by DANIEL WYTTEBACH. Oxon. 1795-1800, 8 vols. (including 2 Index vols.). French ed. by Dübner, in the Didot collection.

PLUTARCH'S *Morals. Translated from the Greek by several Hands.* London, 1684-'94, 5th ed. 1718. The same as *corrected and revised by WILLIAM W. GOODWIN* (Harvard University). *With an introduction by Ralph Waldo Emerson.* Boston, 1870, 5 vols.

OCTAVE GREARD: *De la moralité de Plutarque.* Paris, 1866.

RICHARD CHENEVIX TRENCH (Archbishop of Dublin): *Plutarch, his Life, his Parallel Lives, and his Morals.* London (Macmillan & Co.), 2nd ed. 1874.

W. MÖLLER: *Ueber die Religion des Plutarch.* Kiel, 1881.

JULIA WEDGWOOD: *Plutarch and the unconscious Christianity of the first two centuries.* In the "Contemporary Review" for 1881, pp. 44-60.

Equally remarkable, as a representative of "unconscious Christianity" and "seeker after the unknown God," though from a different philosophical standpoint, is the greatest biographer and moralist of classical antiquity.

It is strange that Plutarch's contemporaries are silent about him. His name is not even mentioned by any Roman writer. What we know of him is gathered from his own works. He lived between A. D. 50 and 125, mostly in his native town of Chæroneia, in Boeotia, as a magistrate and priest of Apollos. He was happily married, and had four sons and a daughter, who died young. His *Conjugal Precepts* are full of good advice to husbands and wives. The letter of consolation he addressed to his wife on the death of a little daughter, Timoxena, while she was absent from home, gives us a favorable impression of his family life, and expresses his hope of immortality. "The souls of infants," he says at the close of this letter, "pass immediately into a better and more divine state." He spent some time in Rome (at least twice, probably under Vespasian and Domitian), lectured on moral philosophy to select audiences, and collected material for his *Parallel Lives* of Greeks and Romans. He was evidently well-bred, in good circumstances, familiar with books, different countries, and human nature and society in all its phases. In his philosophy he stands midway between Platonism and Neo-Platonism. He

was "a Platonist with an Oriental tinge."¹ He was equally opposed to Stoic pantheism and Epicurean naturalism, and adopted the Platonic dualism of God and matter. He recognized a supreme God, and also the subordinate divinities of the Hellenic religion. The gods are good, the demons are divided between good and bad, the human soul combines both qualities. He paid little attention to metaphysics, and dwelt more on the practical questions of philosophy, dividing his labors between historical and moral topics. He was an utter stranger to Christianity, and therefore neither friendly nor hostile. There is in all his numerous writings not a single allusion to it, although at his time there must have been churches in every considerable city of the empire. He often speaks of Judaism, but very superficially, and may have regarded Christianity as a Jewish sect. But his moral philosophy makes a very near approach to Christian ethics.

His aim, as a writer, was to show the greatness in the acts and in the thoughts of the ancients, the former in his "Parallel Lives," the latter in his "Morals," and by both to inspire his contemporaries to imitation. They constitute together an encyclopædia of well-digested Greek and Roman learning. He was not a man of creative genius, but of great talent, extensive information, amiable spirit, and universal sympathy. Emerson calls him "the chief example of the illumination of the intellect by the force of morals."¹

Plutarch endeavored to build up morality on the basis of religion. He is the very opposite of Lucian, who as an architect of ruin, ridiculed and undermined the popular religion. He was a strong believer in God, and his argument against atheism is well worth quoting. "There has never been," he says, "a state of atheists. You may travel over the world, and you may find cities without walls, without king, without

¹ So Trench calls him, *l. c.* p. 112. The best account of his philosophy is given by Zeller in his *Philosophie der Griechen*, Part III., 141-182; and more briefly by Ueberweg, *Hist. of Phil.* (Eng. Ver.) I. 234-236.

¹ Introduction to Goodwin's ed. p. xi.

mint, without theatre or gymnasium ; but you will never find a city without God, without prayer, without oracle, without sacrifice. Sooner may a city stand without foundations, than a state without belief in the gods. This is the bond of all society and the pillar of all legislation.”¹

In his treatise on *The Wrong Fear of the Gods*, he contrasts superstition with atheism as the two extremes which often meet, and commends piety or the right reverence of the gods as the golden mean. Of the two extremes he deems superstition the worse, because it makes the gods capricious, cruel, and revengeful, while they are friends of men, saviours (*σωτῆρες*), and not destroyers. (Nevertheless superstitious people can more easily be converted to true faith than atheists who have destroyed all religious instincts.)

His remarkable treatise on *The Delays of Divine Justice in punishing the wicked*,² would do credit to any Christian theologian. It is his solution of the problem of evil, or his theodicy. He discusses the subject with several of his relatives (as Job did with his friends), and illustrates it by examples. He answers the various objections which arise from the delay of justice, and vindicates Providence in his dealings with the sinner. He enjoins first modesty and caution in view of our imperfect knowledge. God only knows best *when* and *how* and *how much* to punish. He offers the following considerations:

- 1) God teaches us to moderate our anger, and never to punish in a passion, but to imitate his gentleness and forbearance.
- 2) He gives the wicked an opportunity to repent and reform.
- 3) He permits them to live and prosper that he may use them as executioners of his justice on others. He often punishes the sinner by the sinner.
- 4) The wicked are sometimes spared that they may bless the world by a noble posterity.
- 5) Punishment is often deferred that the hand of Providence may be more conspicuous in its infliction. Sooner or later sin will be punished, if not in this world, at least in the future world, to

¹ *Adv. Colotem* (an Epicurean), c. 31 (*Moralia*, ed. Tauchnitz, VI. 265).

² *De Sera Numinis Vindicta*. In Goodwin's ed. vol. IV. 140-188.

which Plutarch points as the final solution of the mysteries of Providence. He looked upon death as a good thing for the good soul, which shall then live indeed; while the present life "resembles rather the vain illusions of some dream."

The crown of Plutarch's character is his humility, which was so very rare among ancient philosophers, especially the Stoics, and which comes from true self-knowledge. He was aware of the native depravity of the soul, which he calls "a storehouse and treasure of many evils and maladies."¹ Had he known the true and radical remedy for sin, he would no doubt have accepted it with gratitude.

We do not know how far the influence of these saints of ancient paganism, as we may call Epictetus, Marcus Aurelius, and Plutarch, extended over the heathens of their age, but we do know that their writings had and still have an elevating and ennobling effect upon Christian readers, and hence we may infer that their teaching and example were among the moral forces that aided rather than hindered the progress and final triumph of Christianity. But this religion alone could bring about such a general and lasting moral reform as they themselves desired.

§ 94. *Christian Morality.*

The ancient world of classic heathenism, having arrived at the height of its glory, and at the threshold of its decay, had exhausted all the resources of human nature left to itself, and possessed no recuperative force, no regenerative principle. A regeneration of society could only proceed from religion. But the heathen religion had no restraint for vice, no comfort for the poor and oppressed; it was itself the muddy fountain of immorality. God, therefore, who in his infinite mercy desired not the destruction but the salvation of the race, opened in the midst of this hopeless decay of a false religion a pure fountain

¹ Ποικίλον τι καὶ πολυπαθὲς κακῶν ταμεῖον καὶ θησαυρίσμα, ὡς φησι Δημόκριτος. *Animi ne an corporis affectiones sint pejores*, c. 2 (in Wyttienbach's ed. Tom. III. p. 17).

of holiness, love, and peace, in the only true and universal religion of his Son Jesus Christ.

In the cheerless waste of pagan corruption the small and despised band of Christians was an oasis fresh with life and hope. It was the salt of the earth, and the light of the world. Poor in this world's goods, it bore the imperishable treasures of the kingdom of heaven. Meek and lowly in heart, it was destined, according to the promise of the Lord, without a stroke of the sword, to inherit the earth. In submission it conquered; by suffering and death it won the crown of life.

The superiority of the principles of Christian ethics over the heathen standards of morality even under its most favorable forms is universally admitted. The superiority of the example of Christ over all the heathen sages is likewise admitted. The power of that peerless example was and is now as great as the power of his teaching. It is reflected in every age and every type of purity and goodness. But every period, while it shares in the common virtues and graces, has its peculiar moral physiognomy. The ante-Nicene age excelled in unworldliness, in the heroic endurance of suffering and persecution, in the contempt of death, and the hope of resurrection, in the strong sense of community, and in active benevolence.

Christianity, indeed, does not come "with observation." Its deepest workings are silent and inward. The operations of divine grace commonly shun the notice of the historian, and await their revelation on the great day of account, when all that is secret shall be made known. Who can measure the depth and breadth of all those blessed experiences of forgiveness, peace, gratitude, trust in God, love for God and love for man, humility and meekness, patience and resignation, which have bloomed as vernal flowers on the soil of the renewed heart since the first Christian Pentecost? Who can tell the number and the fervor of Christian prayers and intercessions which have gone up from lonely chambers, caves, deserts, and martyrs' graves, in the silent night and the open day, for friends and foes, for all classes of mankind, even for cruel persecutors, to

the throne of the exalted Saviour? But where this Christian life has taken root in the depths of the soul it must show itself in the outward conduct, and exert an elevating influence on every calling and sphere of action. The Christian morality surpassed all that the noblest philosophers of heathendom had ever taught or labored for as the highest aim of man. The masterly picture of it in the anonymous Epistle to Diognetus is no mere fancy sketch, but a faithful copy from real life.¹

When the apologists indignantly repel the heathen calumnies, and confidently point to the unfeigned piety, the brotherly love, the love for enemies, the purity and chastity, the faithfulness and integrity, the patience and gentleness, of the confessors of the name of Jesus, they speak from daily experience and personal observation. "We, who once served lust," could Justin Martyr say without exaggeration, "now find our delight only in pure morals; we, who once followed sorcery, have now consecrated ourselves to the eternal good God; we, who once loved gain above all, now give up what we have for the common use, and share with every needy one; we, who once hated and killed each other; we, who would have no common hearth with foreigners for difference of customs, now, since the appearance of Christ, live with them, pray for our enemies, seek to convince those who hate us without cause, that they may regulate their life according to the glorious teaching of Christ, and receive from the all-ruling God the same blessings with ourselves." Tertullian could boast that he knew no Christians who suffered by the hand of the executioner, except for their religion. Minutius Felix tells the heathens²: "You prohibit adultery by law, and practise it in secret; you punish wickedness only in the overt act; we look upon it as criminal even in thought. You dread the inspection of others; we stand in awe of nothing but our own consciences as becomes Christians. And finally your prisons are overflowing with criminals; but they are all heathens, not a Christian is there, unless he be an

¹ See § 2, p. 9. sq.

² *Octavius*, cap. 35.

apostate." Even Pliny informed Trajan, that the Christians, whom he questioned on the rack respecting the character of their religion, had bound themselves by an oath never to commit theft, robbery, nor adultery, nor to break their word—and this, too, at a time when the sins of fraud, uncleanness, and lasciviousness of every form abounded all around. Another heathen, Lucian, bears testimony to their benevolence and charity for their brethren in distress, while he attempts to ridicule this virtue as foolish weakness in an age of unbounded selfishness.

The humble and painful condition of the church under civil oppression made hypocrisy more rare than in times of peace, and favored the development of the heroic virtues. The Christians delighted to regard themselves as soldiers of Christ, enlisted under the victorious standard of the cross against sin, the world, and the devil. The baptismal vow was their oath of perpetual allegiance;¹ the Apostles' creed their parole;² the sign of the cross upon the forehead, their mark of service; a temperance, courage, and faithfulness unto death, their cardinal virtues; the blessedness of heaven, their promised reward. "No soldier," exclaims Tertullian to the Confessors, "goes with his sports or from his bed-chamber to the battle; but from the camp, where he hardens and accustoms himself to every inconvenience. Even in peace warriors learn to bear labor and fatigue, going through all military exercises, that neither soul nor body may flag. . . . Ye wage a good warfare, in which the living God is the judge of the combat, the Holy Spirit the leader, eternal glory the prize." To this may be added the eloquent passage of Minutius Felix³: "How fair a spectacle in the sight of God is a Christian entering the lists with affliction, and with noble firmness combating menaces and tortures, or with a disdainful smile marching to death through the clamors of the people, and the insults of the executioners; when he bravely maintains his liberty against kings and princes, and

¹ *Sacramentum militiæ Christianæ.*

² *Symbolum, or, tessera militaris.*

³ *Character militaris, stigma militare.*

⁴ *Octavius, cap. 37*

submits to God, whose servant he is; when, like a conqueror, he triumphs over the judge that condemns him. 'For he certainly is victorious who obtains what he fights for. He fights under the eye of God, and is crowned with length of days. You have exalted some of your stoical sufferers to the skies; such as Scævola who, having missed his aim in an attempt to kill the king, voluntarily burned the mistaking hand. Yet how many among us have suffered not only the hand, but the whole body to be consumed without a complaint, when their deliverance was in their own power! But why should I compare our elders with your Mutius, or Aquilius, or Regulus, when our very children, our sons and daughters, inspired with patience, despise your racks and wild beasts, and all other instruments of cruelty? Surely nothing but the strongest reasons could persuade people to suffer at this rate; and nothing else but Almighty power could support them under their sufferings."

Yet, on the other hand, the Christian life of the period before Constantine has been often unwarrantably idealized. In a human nature essentially the same, we could but expect the same faults which we found even in the apostolic churches. The Epistles of Cyprian afford incontestable evidence, that, especially in the intervals of repose, an abatement of zeal soon showed itself, and, on the reopening of persecution, the Christian name was dishonored by hosts of apostates. And not seldom did the most prominent virtues, courage in death, and strictness of morals, degenerate into morbid fanaticism and unnatural rigor.

§ 95. *The Church and Public Amusements.*

TERTULLIAN: *De Spectaculis*. On the Roman Spectacles see the abundant references in FRIEDLAENDER, II. 255-580 (5th ed.)

Christianity is anything but sanctimonious gloominess and misanthropic austerity. It is the fountain of true joy, and of that peace which "passeth all understanding." But this joy wells up from the consciousness of pardon and of fellowship

with God, is inseparable from holy earnestness, and has no concord with worldly frivolity and sensual amusement, which carry the sting of a bad conscience, and beget only disgust and bitter remorse. "What is more blessed," asks Tertullian, "than reconciliation with God our Father and Lord; than the revelation of the truth, the knowledge of error; than the forgiveness of so great past misdeeds? Is there a greater joy than the disgust with earthly pleasure, than contempt for the whole world, than true freedom, than an unstained conscience, than contentment in life and fearlessness in death?"

Contrast with this the popular amusements of the heathen: the theatre, the circus, and the arena. They were originally connected with the festivals of the gods, but had long lost their religious character and degenerated into nurseries of vice. The theatre, once a school of public morals in the best days of Greece, when Aeschylus and Sophocles furnished the plays, had since the time of Augustus room only for low comedies and unnatural tragedies, with splendid pageantry, frivolous music, and licentious dances.¹ Tertullian represents it as the temple of Venus and Bacchus, who are close allies as patrons of lust and drunkenness.² The circus was devoted to horse and chariot races, hunts of wild beasts, military displays and athletic games, and attracted immense multitudes. "The impatient crowd," says the historian of declining Rome,³ "rushed at the dawn of day to secure their places, and there were many who passed a sleepless and anxious night in the adjacent porticos. From the morning to the evening, careless of the sun or of the rain, the spectators, who sometimes amounted to the number of four hundred thousand, remained in eager attention; their eyes fixed on the horses and charioteers, their minds agitated with hope

¹ Friedlaender, II. 391: "*Neben den gewaltigen Aufregungen, die Circus und Arena boten, konnte die Bühne ihre Anziehungskraft für die Massen nur durch unedle Mittel behaupten, durch rohe Belustigung und raffinierten Sinnenkitzel: und so hat sie, statt dem verderblichen Einfluss jener anderen Schauspiele die Wage zu halten, zur Corruption und Verwilderung Roms nicht am wenigsten beigetragen.*"

² *De Spectac.* c. 10. Comp. Minut. Felix, *Octav.* c. 37.

³ Gibbon, ch. XXXI. (vol. III. 384, ed. Smith).

and fear for the success of the colors which they espoused ; and the happiness of Rome appeared to hang on the event of a race. The same immoderate ardor inspired their clamors and their applause as often as they were entertained with the hunting of wild beasts and the various modes of theatrical representation."

The most popular, and at the same time the most inhuman and brutalizing of these public spectacles were the gladiatorial fights in the arena. There murder was practised as an art, from sunrise to sunset, and myriads of men and beasts were sacrificed to satisfy a savage curiosity and thirst for blood. At the inauguration of the Flavian amphitheatre from five to nine thousand wild beasts (according to different accounts) were slain in one day. No less than ten thousand gladiators fought in the feasts which Trajan gave to the Romans after the conquest of Dacia, and which lasted four months (A. D. 107). Under Probus (A. D. 281) as many as a hundred lions, a hundred lionesses, two hundred leopards, three hundred bears, and a thousand wild boars were massacred in a single day.¹ The spectacles of the worthless Carinus (284) who selected his favorites and even his ministers from the dregs of the populace, are said to have surpassed those of all his predecessors. The gladiators were condemned criminals, captives of war, slaves, and professional fighters ; in times of persecution innocent Christians were not spared, but thrown before lions and tigers. Painted savages from Britain, blonde Germans from the Rhine and Danube, negroes from Africa, and wild beasts, then much more numerous than now, from all parts of the world, were brought to the arena. Domitian arranged fights of dwarfs and women.

The emperors patronized these various spectacles as the surest means of securing the favor of the people, which clamored for "*Panem et Circenses*." Enormous sums were wasted on them from the public treasury and private purses. Augustus set the example. Nero was so extravagantly liberal in this direction

¹ Gibbon, ch. XII. (I. 646).

that the populace forgave his horrible vices, and even wished his return from death. The parsimonious Vespasian built the most costly and colossal amphitheatre the world has ever seen, incrusting with marble, decorated with statues, and furnished with gold, silver, and amber. Titus presented thousands of Jewish captives after the capture of Jerusalem to the provinces of the East for slaughter in the arena. Even Trajan and Marcus Aurelius made bountiful provision for spectacles, and the latter, Stoic as he was, charged the richest senators to gratify the public taste during his absence from Rome. Some emperors, as Nero, Commodus, and Caracalla, were so lost to all sense of dignity and decency that they delighted and gloried in histrionic and gladiatorial performances. Nero died by his own hand, with the explanation: "What an artist perishes in me." Commodus appeared no less than seven hundred and thirty-five times on the stage in the character of Hercules, with club and lion's skin, and from a secure position killed countless beasts and men.

The theatrical passion was not confined to Rome, it spread throughout the provinces. Every considerable city had an amphitheatre, and that was the most imposing building, as may be seen to this day in the ruins at Pompeii, Capua, Puteoli, Verona, Nîmes, Autun (Augustodunum), and other places.¹

Public opinion favored these demoralizing amusements almost without a dissenting voice.² Even such a noble heathen as Cicero commended them as excellent schools of courage and contempt of death. Epictetus alludes to them with indifference. Seneca is the only Roman author who, in one of his latest writings, condemned the bloody spectacles from the standpoint of humanity, but without effect. Paganism had no proper conception of the sanctity of human life; and even the Stoic

¹ See the long list of amphitheatres in Friedlaender, II. 502-566.

² Friedlaender, II. 370: "*In der ganzen römischen Literatur begegnen wir kaum einer Aeusserung des Abscheus, den die heutige Welt gegen diese unmenschlichen Lustbarkeiten empfindet. In der Regel werden die Fechtspiele mit der grössten Gleichgültigkeit erwähnt. Die Kinder spielen Gladiatoren wie jetzt in Andalusien Stier und Matador.*"

philosophy, while it might disapprove of bloody games as brutal and inhuman, did not condemn them as the sin of murder.

To this gigantic evil the Christian church opposed an inexorable Puritanic rigor in the interest of virtue and humanity. No compromise was possible with such shocking public immorality. Nothing would do but to flee from it and to warn against it. The theatrical spectacles were included in "the pomp of the devil," which Christians renounced at their baptism. They were forbidden, on pain of excommunication, to attend them. It sometimes happened that converts, who were overpowered by their old habits and visited the theatre, either relapsed into heathenism, or fell for a long time into a state of deep dejection. Tatianus calls the spectacles terrible feasts, in which the soul feeds on human flesh and blood. Tertullian attacked them without mercy, even before he joined the rigorous Montanists. He reminds the catechumens, who were about to consecrate themselves to the service of God, that "the condition of faith and the laws of Christian discipline forbid, among other sins of the world, the pleasures of the public shows." They excite, he says, all sorts of wild and impure passions, anger, fury, and lust; while the spirit of Christianity is a spirit of meekness, peace, and purity. "What a man should not say he should not hear. All licentious speech, nay, every idle word is condemned by God. The things which defile a man in going out of his mouth, defile him also when they go in at his eyes and ears. The true wrestlings of the Christian are to overcome unchastity by chastity, perfidy by faithfulness, cruelty by compassion and charity." Tertullian refutes the arguments with which loose Christians would plead for those fascinating amusements; their appeals to the silence of the Scriptures, or even to the dancing of David before the ark, and to Paul's comparison of the Christian life with the Grecian games. He winds up with a picture of the fast approaching day of judgment, to which we should look forward. He inclined strongly to the extreme view, that all art is a species of fiction and falsehood, and inconsistent with

Christian truthfulness. In two other treatises¹ he warned the Christian women against all display of dress, in which the heathen women shone in temples, theatres, and public places. Visit not such places, says he to them, and appear in public only for earnest reasons. The handmaids of God must distinguish themselves even outwardly from the handmaids of Satan, and set the latter a good example of simplicity, decorum, and chastity.

The opposition of the Church had, of course, at first only a moral effect, but in the fourth century it began to affect legislation, and succeeded at last in banishing at least the bloody gladiatorial games from the civilized world (with the single exception of Spain and the South American countries, which still disgrace themselves by bull-fights). Constantine, even as late as 313, committed a great multitude of defeated barbarians to the wild beasts for the amusement of the people, and was highly applauded for this generous act by a heathen orator; but after the Council of Nicæa, in 325, he issued the first prohibition of those bloody spectacles in times of peace, and kept them out of Constantinople.² "There is scarcely," says a liberal historian of moral progress, "any other single reform so important in the moral history of mankind as the suppression of the gladiatorial shows, and this feat must be almost exclusively ascribed to the Christian church. When we remember how extremely few of the best and greatest men of the Roman world had absolutely condemned the games of the amphitheatre, it is impossible to regard, without the deepest admiration, the unwavering and uncompromising consistency of the patristic denunciations."³

§ 96. *Secular Callings and Civil Duties.*

As to the various callings of life, Christianity gives the instruction: "Let each man abide in that calling wherein he was

¹ *De Habitu Muliebri*, and *De Cultu Feminarum*.

² On the action of his successors, see vol. III. 122 sq.

³ Lecky, *Hist. of Europ. Morals*, II. 36 sq.

called.”¹ It forbids no respectable pursuit, and only requires that it be followed in a new spirit to the glory of God and the benefit of men. This is one proof of its universal application—its power to enter into all the relations of human life and into all branches of society, under all forms of government. This is beautifully presented by the unknown author of the Epistle to Diognetus. Tertullian protests to the heathens:² “We are no Brahmins nor Indian gymnosophists, no hermits, no exiles from life.” We are mindful of the thanks we owe to God, our Lord and Creator; we despise not the enjoyment of his works; we only temper it, that we may avoid excess and abuse. We dwell, therefore, with you in this world, not without markets and fairs, not without baths, inns, shops, and every kind of intercourse. We carry on commerce and war,³ agriculture and trade with you. We take part in your pursuits, and give our labor for your use.”

But there were at that time some callings which either ministered solely to sinful gratification, like that of the stage-player, or were intimately connected with the prevailing idolatry, like the manufacture, decoration, and sale of mythological images and symbols, the divination of astrologers, and all species of magic. These callings were strictly forbidden in the church, and must be renounced by the candidate for baptism. Other occupations, which were necessary indeed, but commonly perverted by the heathens to fraudulent purposes—inn-keeping, for example—were elevated by the Christian spirit. Theodotus at Ancyra made his house a refuge for the Christians and a place of prayer in the Diocletian persecution, in which he himself suffered martyrdom.

In regard to military and civil offices under the heathen government, opinion was divided. Some, on the authority of such passages as Matt. 5: 39 and 26: 52, condemned all war as unchristian and immoral; anticipating the views of the Mennonites and Friends. Others appealed to the good

¹ 1 Cor. 7: 20.

² *Apol.* c. 42.

³ *Exules vitæ.*

⁴ “*Militamus*,” which proves that many Christians served in the army.

centurion of Capernaum and Cornelius of Cesarea, and held the military life consistent with a Christian profession. The tradition of the *legio fulminatrix* indicates that there were Christian soldiers in the Roman armies under Marcus Aurelius, and at the time of Diocletian the number of Christians at the court and in civil office was very considerable.

But in general the Christians of those days, with their lively sense of foreignness to this world, and their longing for the heavenly home, or the millennial reign of Christ, were averse to high office in a heathen state. Tertullian expressly says, that nothing was more alien to them than politics.¹ Their conscience required them to abstain scrupulously from all idolatrous usages, sacrifices, libations, and flatteries connected with public offices; and this requisition must have come into frequent collision with their duties to the state, so long as the state remained heathen. They honored the emperor as appointed to earthly government by God, and as standing nearest of all men to him in power; and they paid their taxes, as Justin Martyr expressly states, with exemplary faithfulness. But their obedience ceased whenever the emperor, as he frequently did, demanded of them idolatrous acts. Tertullian thought that the empire would last till the end of the world, then supposed to be near at hand, and would be irreconcilable with the Christian profession. Against the idolatrous worship of the emperor he protests with Christian boldness: "Augustus, the founder of the empire, would never be called Lord; for this is a surname of God. Yet I will freely call the emperor so, only not in the place of God. Otherwise I am free from him; for I have only one Lord, the almighty and eternal God, who also is the emperor's Lord. . . . Far be it from me to call the emperor God, which is not only the most shameful, but the most pernicious flattery."

The comparative indifference and partial aversion of the Christians to the affairs of the state, to civil legislation and

¹ *Apol. c. 38*: "*Nec ulla res aliena magis quam publica.*";

administration exposed them to the frequent reproach and contempt of the heathens. Their want of patriotism was partly the result of their superior devotion to the church as their country, partly of their situation in a hostile world. It must not be attributed to an "indolent or criminal disregard for the public welfare" (as Gibbon intimates), but chiefly to their just abhorrence of the innumerable idolatrous rites connected with the public and private life of the heathens. While they refused to incur the guilt of idolatry, they fervently and regularly prayed for the emperor and the state, their enemies and persecutors.¹ They were the most peaceful subjects, and during this long period of almost constant provocation, abuse, and persecutions, they never took part in those frequent insurrections and rebellions which weakened and undermined the empire. They renovated society from within, by revealing in their lives as well as in their doctrine a higher order of private and public virtue, and thus proved themselves patriots in the best sense of the word.

The patriotism of ancient Greece and republican Rome, while it commands our admiration by the heroic devotion and sacrifice to the country, was after all an extended selfishness, and based upon the absolutism of the State and the disregard of the rights of the individual citizen and the foreigner. It was undermined by causes independent of Christianity. The amalgamation of different nationalities in the empire extinguished sectionalism and exclusivism, and opened the wide view of a universal humanity. Stoicism gave this cosmopolitan sentiment a philosophical and ethical expression in the writings of Seneca, Epictetus, and Marcus Aurelius. Terence embodied it in his famous line: "*Homo sum: humani nihil a me alienum puto.*" But Christianity first taught the fatherhood of God, the redemption by Christ, the common brotherhood of believers, the duty of charity for all men made in the image of God. It is true that monasticism, which began to develop itself already in

¹ See the prayer for rulers in the newly discovered portions of the Epistle of Clement of Rome, quoted in § 66, p. 228.

the third century, nursed indifference to the state and even to the family, and substituted the total abandonment of the world for its reformation and transformation. It withdrew a vast amount of moral energy and enthusiasm from the city to the desert, and left Roman society to starvation and consumption. But it preserved and nursed in solitude the heroism of self-denial and consecration, which, in the collapse of the Roman empire, became a converting power of the barbarian conquerors, and laid the foundation for a new and better civilization. The decline and fall of the Roman empire was inevitable; Christianity prolonged its life in the East, and diminished the catastrophe of its collapse in the West, by converting and humanizing the barbarian conquerors.¹ St. Augustin pointed to the remarkable fact that amid the horrors of the sack of Rome by the Goths, "the churches of the apostles and the crypts of the martyrs were sanctuaries for all who fled to them, whether Christian or pagan," and "saved the lives of multitudes who impute to Christ the ills that have befallen their city."²

§ 97. *The Church and Slavery.*

See Lit. vol. I. § 48, p. 444, especially WALLON's *Histoire de l'esclavage* (Paris, new ed. 1879, 3 vols). Comp. also V. LECHLER: *Sklaverei und Christenthum*. Leipzig, 1877, 1878; THEOD. ZAHN: *Sklaverei und Christenthum in der alten Welt*. Heidelberg, 1879. OVERBECK: *Verh. d. alten Kirche zur Sklaverei im röm. Reiche*. 1875.

¹ Gibbon, ch. 36, admits this in part. "If the decline of the Roman empire was hastened by the conversion of Constantine, the victorious religion broke the violence of the fall, and mollified the ferocious temper of the conquerors." Milman says of the Church: "If treacherous (?) to the interests of the Roman empire, it was true to those of mankind" (III. 48). Lecky (II. 163) says: "It is impossible to deny that the Christian priesthood contributed materially both by their charity and by their arbitration, to mitigate the calamities that accompanied the dissolution of the empire; and it is equally impossible to doubt that their political attitude greatly increased their power for good. Standing between the conflicting forces, almost indifferent to the issue, and notoriously exempt from the passions of the combat, they obtained with the conqueror, and used for the benefit of the conquered, a degree of influence they would never have possessed had they been regarded as Roman patriots."

² *De Civ. Dei*, I. c. 1.

Heathenism had no conception of the general and natural rights of men. The ancient republics consisted in the exclusive dominion of a minority over an oppressed majority. The Greeks and Romans regarded only the free, *i. e.* the free-born rich and independent citizens as men in the full sense of the term, and denied this privilege to the foreigners, the laborers, the poor, and the slaves. They claimed the natural right to make war upon all foreign nations, without distinction of race, in order to subject them to their iron rule. Even with Cicero the 'foreigner and the enemy are synonymous terms. The barbarians were taken in thousands by the chance of war (above 100,000 in the Jewish war alone) and sold as cheap as horses. Besides, an active slave-trade was carried on in the Euxine, the eastern provinces, the coast of Africa, and Britain. The greater part of mankind in the old Roman empire was reduced to a hopeless state of slavery, and to a half brutish level. And this evil of slavery was so thoroughly interwoven with the entire domestic and public life of the heathen world, and so deliberately regarded, even by the greatest philosophers, Aristotle for instance, as natural and indispensable, that the abolition of it, even if desirable, seemed to belong among the impossible things.

Yet from the outset Christianity has labored for this end; not by impairing the right of property, not by outward violence, nor sudden revolution; this, under the circumstances, would only have made the evil worse; but by its moral power, by preaching the divine descent and original unity of all men, their common redemption through Christ, the duty of brotherly love, and the true freedom of the spirit. It placed slaves and masters on the same footing of dependence on God and of freedom in God, the Father, Redeemer, and Judge of both. It conferred inward freedom even under outward bondage, and taught obedience to God and for the sake of God, even in the enjoyment of outward freedom. This moral and religious freedom must lead at last to the personal and civil liberty of the individual. Christianity redeems not only the soul but the

body also, and the process of regeneration will end in the resurrection and glorification of the entire natural world.

In the period before us, however, the abolition of slavery, save in isolated cases of manumission, was utterly out of question, considering only the enormous number of the slaves. The world was far from ripe for such a step. The church, in her persecuted condition, had as yet no influence at all over the machinery of the state and the civil legislation. And she was at that time so absorbed in the transcendent importance of the higher world and in her longing for the speedy return of the Lord, that she cared little for earthly freedom or temporal happiness. Hence Ignatius, in his epistle to Polycarp, counsels servants to serve only the more zealously to the glory of the Lord, that they may receive from God the higher freedom; and not to attempt to be redeemed at the expense of their Christian brethren, lest they be found slaves to their own caprice. From this we see that slaves, in whom faith awoke the sense of manly dignity and the desire of freedom, were accustomed to demand their redemption at the expense of the church, as a right, and were thus liable to value the earthly freedom more than the spiritual. Tertullian declares the outward freedom worthless without the ransom of the soul from the bondage of sin. "How can the world," says he, "make a servant free? All is mere show in the world, nothing truth. For the slave is already free, as a purchase of Christ; and the freedman is a servant of Christ. If thou takest the freedom which the world can give for true, thou hast thereby become again the servant of man, and hast lost the freedom of Christ, in that thou thinkest it bondage." Chrysostom, in the fourth century, was the first of the fathers to discuss the question of slavery at large in the spirit of the apostle Paul, and to recommend, though cautiously, a gradual emancipation.

But the church before Constantine labored with great success to elevate the intellectual and moral condition of the slaves, to adjust inwardly the inequality between slaves and masters, as the first and efficient step towards the final outward abolition

of the evil, and to influence the public opinion even of the heathens. Here the church was aided by a concurrent movement in philosophy and legislation. The cruel views of Cato, who advised to work the slaves, like beasts of burden, to death rather than allow them to become old and unprofitable, gave way to the milder and humane views of Seneca, Pliny, and Plutarch, who very nearly approach the apostolic teaching. To the influence of the later Stoic philosophy must be attributed many improvements in the slave-code of imperial Rome. But the most important improvements were made from the triumph of Constantine to the reign of Justinian, under directly Christian influences. Constantine issued a law in 315, forbidding the branding of slaves on the face to prevent the disfiguration of the figure of celestial beauty (*i. e.* the image of God).¹ He also facilitated emancipation, in an edict of 316, by requiring only a written document, signed by the master, instead of the previous ceremony in the presence of the prefect and his lictor.

It is here to be considered, first of all, that Christianity spread freely among the slaves, except where they were so rude and degraded as to be insensible to all higher impressions. They were not rarely (as Origen observes) the instruments of the conversion of their masters, especially of the women, and children, whose training was frequently intrusted to them. Not a few slaves died martyrs, and were enrolled among the saints; as Onesimus, Eutyches, Victorinus, Maro, Nereus, Achilleus, Blandina, Potamiana, Felicitas. Tradition makes Onesimus, the slave of Philemon, a bishop. The church of St. Vital at Ravenna—the first and noblest specimen of Byzantine architecture in Italy—was dedicated by Justinian to the memory of a martyred slave. But the most remarkable instance is that of Callistus, who was originally a slave, and rose to the chair of St. Peter in Rome (218–223). Hippolytus, who acquaints us with his history, attacks his doctrinal and disciplinarian

¹ "*Facies, quæ ad similitudinem pulchritudinis est coelestis figurata.*" *Cod. Just.* IX. 17, 17.

views, but does not reproach him for his former condition. Callistus sanctioned the marriages between free Christian women and Christian slaves. Celsus cast it up as a reproach to Christianity, that it let itself down so readily to slaves, fools, women, and children. But Origen justly saw an excellence of the new religion in this very fact, that it could raise this despised and, in the prevailing view, irreclaimable class of men to the level of moral purity and worth. If, then, converted slaves, with the full sense of their intellectual and religious superiority, still remained obedient to their heathen masters, and even served them more faithfully than before, resisting decidedly only their immoral demands (like Potamiana, and other chaste women and virgins in the service of voluptuous masters)—they showed, in this very self-control, the best proof of their ripeness for civil freedom, and at the same time furnished the fairest memorial of that Christian faith, which raised the soul, in the enjoyment of sonship with God and in the hope of the blessedness of heaven, above the sufferings of earth. Euelpistes, a slave of the imperial household, who was carried with Justin Martyr to the tribunal of Rusticus, on being questioned concerning his condition, replied: "I am a slave of the emperor, but I am also a Christian, and have received liberty from Jesus Christ; by his grace I have the same hope as my brethren." Where the owners of the slaves themselves became Christians, the old relation virtually ceased; both came together to the table of the Lord, and felt themselves brethren of one family, in striking contrast with the condition of things among their heathen neighbors as expressed in the current proverb: "As many enemies as slaves."¹ Clement of Alexandria frequently urges that "slaves are men like ourselves," though he nowhere condemns the institution itself. That there actually were such

¹ "*Totidem esse hostes, quot servos.*" Seneca, *Ep.* 47. From the time of the Servile Wars the Romans lived in constant fear of slave conspiracies and insurrections. The slaves formed nearly one half of the population, and in some agricultural districts, as in Sicily and Calabria, they were largely in the majority.

cases of fraternal fellowship, like that which St. Paul recommended to Philemon, we have the testimony of Lactantius, at the end of our period, who writes, in his *Institutes*, no doubt from life: "Should any say: Are there not also among you poor and rich, servants and masters, distinctions among individuals? No; we call ourselves brethren for no other reason, than that we hold ourselves all equal. For since we measure everything human not by its outward appearance, but by its intrinsic value, we have, notwithstanding the difference of outward relations, no slaves, but we call them and consider them brethren in the Spirit and fellow-servants in religion."¹ The same writer says: "God would have all men equal. . . . With him there is neither servant nor master. If he is the same Father to all, we are all with the same right free. So no one is poor before God, but he who is destitute of righteousness; no one rich, but he who is full of virtues."²

The testimony of the catacombs, as contrasted with pagan epitaphs, shows that Christianity almost obliterated the distinction between the two classes of society. Slaves are rarely mentioned. "While it is impossible," says De Rossi, "to examine the pagan sepulchral inscriptions of the same period without finding mention of a slave or a freedman, I have not met with one well-ascertained instance among the inscriptions of the Christian tombs."³

The principles of Christianity naturally prompt Christian slave-holders to actual manumission. The number of slave-holders before Constantine was very limited among Christians, who were mostly poor. Yet we read in the Acts of the mar-

¹ Lib. v. c. 15 (ed. Fritzsche. Lips. 1842, p. 257).

² *Inst.* v. 14 (p. 257): "*Deus enim, qui homines generat et inspirat, omnes aequos, id est pares esse voluit; eandem conditionem vivendi omnibus posuit; omnes ad sapientiam genuit; omnibus immortalitatem spondit, nemo a beneficiis coelestibus segregatur. . . . Nemo apud eum servus est, nemo dominus; si enim cunctis idem Pater est, aequo jure omnes liberi sumus.*"

³ "*Bulletino* for 1866, p. 24. V. Schultze (*Die Katakomben*, p. 258) infers from the monuments that in the early Christian congregations slavery was reduced to a minimum.

tyrdom of the Roman bishop Alexander, that a Roman prefect, Hermas, converted by that bishop, in the reign of Trajan, received baptism at an Easter festival with his wife and children and twelve hundred and fifty slaves, and on this occasion gave all his slaves their freedom and munificent gifts besides.¹ So in the martyrology of St. Sebastian, it is related that a wealthy Roman prefect, Chromatius, under Diocletian, on embracing Christianity, emancipated fourteen hundred slaves, after having them baptized with himself, because their sonship with God put an end to their servitude to man.² Several epitaphs in the catacombs mention the fact of manumission. In the beginning of the fourth century St. Cantius, Cantianus, and Cantianilla, of an old Roman family, set all their slaves, seventy-three in number, at liberty, after they had received baptism.³ St. Melania emancipated eight thousand slaves; St. Ovidius, five thousand; Hermes, a prefect in the reign of Trajan, twelve hundred and fifty.⁴

These legendary traditions may indeed be doubted as to the exact facts in the case, and probably are greatly exaggerated; but they are nevertheless conclusive as the exponents of the spirit which animated the church at that time concerning the duty of Christian masters. It was felt that in a thoroughly Christianized society there can be no room for despotism on the one hand and slavery on the other.

After the third century the manumission became a solemn act, which took place in the presence of the clergy and the congregation. It was celebrated on church festivals, especially on Easter. The master led the slave to the altar; there the document of emancipation was read, the minister pronounced the blessing, and the congregation received him as a free brother with equal rights and privileges. Constantine found this custom already established, and African councils of the fourth

¹ *Acta Sanct. Boll.* Maj. tom. i. p. 371.

² *Acta Sanct. Ian.* tom. iii. 275.

³ *Acta Sanct. Maj.* tom. vi. 777.

⁴ Champagny, *Charité chrét.* p. 210 (as quoted by Lecky, II. 74).
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century requested the emperor to give it general force. He placed it under the superintendence of the clergy.

NOTES.

H. WALLON, in his learned and able *Histoire de l'esclavage dans l'antiquité* (second ed. Paris, 1879, 3 vols.), shows that the gospel in such passages as Matt. 23: 8; Gal. 3: 28; Col. 3: 11; 1 Cor. 12: 13 sounded the death knell of slavery, though it was very long in dying, and thus sums up the teaching of the ante-Nicene church (III. 237): "*Minutius Félix, Tertullien et tous ceux qui ont écrit dans cette période où l'Église a surtout souffert, invoquent de même cette communauté de nature, cette communauté de patrie dans la république du monde, en un langage familier à la philosophie, mais qui trouvait parmi les chrétiens avec une sanction plus haute et un sens plus complet, une application plus sérieuse. Devant ce droit commun des hommes, fondé sur le droit divin, le prétendu droit des gens n'était plus qu'une monstrueuse injustice.*" For the views of the later fathers and the influence of the church on the imperial legislation, see ch. VIII. to X. in his third volume.

LECKY discusses the relation of Christianity to slavery in the second vol. of his *History of European Morals*, pp. 66-90, and justly remarks: "The services of Christianity in this sphere were of three kinds. It supplied a new order of relations, in which the distinction of classes was unknown. It imparted a moral dignity to the servile classes, and it gave an unexampled impetus to the movement of enfranchisement."

§ 98. *The Heathen Family.*

In ancient Greece and Rome the state was the highest object of life, and the only virtues properly recognized—wisdom, courage, moderation, and justice—were political virtues. Aristotle makes the state, that is the organized body of free citizens¹ (foreigners and slaves are excluded), precede the family and the individual, and calls man essentially a "political animal." In Plato's ideal commonwealth the state is everything and owns everything, even the children.

This political absolutism destroys the proper dignity and rights of the individual and the family, and materially hinders the development of the domestic and private virtues. Marriage was allowed no moral character, but merely a political import for the preservation of the state, and could not be legally contracted except by free citizens. Socrates, in instructing his son

¹ Κοινωνία τῶν ἐλευθέρων.

concerning this institution, tells him, according to Xenophon, that we select only such wives as we hope will yield beautiful children. Plato recommends even community of women to the class of warriors in his ideal republic, as the best way to secure vigorous citizens. Lycurgus, for similar reasons, encouraged adultery under certain circumstances, requiring old men to lend their young and handsome wives to young and strong men.

Woman was placed almost on the same level with the slave. She differs, indeed, from the slave, according to Aristotle, but has, after all, really no will of her own, and is hardly capable of a higher virtue than the slave. Shut up in a retired apartment of the house, she spent her life with the slaves. As human nature is essentially the same in all ages, and as it is never entirely forsaken by the guidance of a kind Providence, we must certainly suppose that female virtue was always more or less maintained and appreciated even among the heathen. Such characters as Penelope, Nausicaa, Andromache, Antigone, Iphigenia, and Diotima, of the Greek poetry and history, bear witness of this. Plutarch's advice to married people, and his letter of consolation to his wife after the death of their daughter, breathe a beautiful spirit of purity and affection. But the general position assigned to woman by the poets, philosophers, and legislators of antiquity, was one of social oppression and degradation. In Athens she was treated as a minor during lifetime, and could not inherit except in the absence of male heirs. To the question of Socrates: "Is there any one with whom you converse less than with the wife?" his pupil, Aristobulus, replies: "No one, or at least very few." If she excelled occasionally, in Greece, by wit and culture, and, like Aspasia, Phryne, Laïs, Theodota, attracted the admiration and courtship even of earnest philosophers like Socrates, and statesmen like Pericles, she generally belonged to the disreputable class of the *hetærae* or *amicae*. In Corinth they were attached to the temple of Aphrodite, and enjoyed the sanction of religion for the practice of vice.¹ These dissolute women were esteemed above house-

¹ Their name *ἐταπαί* was an Attic euphonism for *πόρναι*. In the temple of

wives, and became the proper and only representatives of some sort of female culture and social elegance. To live with them openly was no disgrace even for married men.¹ How could there be any proper conception and abhorrence of the sin of licentiousness and adultery, if the very gods, a Jupiter, a Mars, and a Venus, were believed to be guilty of those sins! The worst vices of earth were transferred to Olympus.

Modesty forbids the mention of a still more odious vice, which even depraved nature abhors, which yet was freely discussed and praised by ancient poets and philosophers, practised with neither punishment nor dishonor, and likewise divinely sanctioned by the example of Apollo and Hercules, and by the lewdness of Jupiter with Ganymede.²

Aphrodite at Corinth more than a thousand *hetærae* were employed as *hierodulae*, and were the ruin of foreigners (Strabo, VIII. 6, 20). *Κορνύτια κόρη* was a synonym for *hetæra*, and expressive of the acme of voluptuousness. A full account of these *hetærae* and of the whole domestic life of the ancient Greeks may be found in Becker's *Charicles*, translated by Metcalf, third ed. London, 1866. Becker says (p. 242), that in the period of the greatest refinement of classical Greece, "sensuality, if not the mother, was at all events the nurse of the Greek perception of the beautiful." Plato himself, even in his ideal state, despaired of restricting his citizens to the lawful intercourse of marriage.

¹ Aspasia bewitched Pericles by her beauty and genius; and Socrates acknowledged his deep obligation to the instructions of a courtesan named Diotima.

² Lecky (II. 311) derives this unnatural vice of Greece from the influence of the public games, which accustomed men to the contemplation of absolute nudity, and awoke unnatural passions. See the thirteenth book of Athenæus, Grote on the *Symposium* of Plato, and the full account in Döllinger's *Heidenthum und Judenthum*, 1857, p. 684 sqq. He says: "*Bei den Griechen tritt das Laster der Pederastie mit allen Symptomen einer grossen nationalen Krankheit, gleichsam eines ethischen Miasma auf; es zeigt sich als ein Gefühl, das stärker and heftiger wirkte, als die Weiberliebe bei andern Völkern, massloser, leidenschaftlicher in seinen Ausbrüchen war. . . . In der ganzen Literatur der vorchristlichen Periode ist kaum ein Schriftsteller zu finden, der sich entschieden dagegen erklärt hätte. Vielmehr war die ganze Gesellschaft davon angesteckt, und man athmete das Miasma, so zu sagen, mit der Luft ein.*" Even Socrates and Plato gave this morbid vice the sanction of their great authority, if not in practice, at least in theory. Comp. Xenophon's *Mem.* VIII. 2, Plato's *Charmides*, and his descriptions of Eros, and Döllinger, l. c. p. 686 sq. Zeno, the founder of the austere sect of Stoics, was praised for the moderation with which he practiced this vice.

The Romans were originally more virtuous, domestic, and chaste, as they were more honest and conscientious, than the Greeks. With them the wife was honored by the title *domina*, *matrona*, *materfamilias*. At the head of their sacerdotal system stood the flamens of Jupiter, who represented marriage in its purity, and the vestal virgins, who represented virginity. The Sabine women interceding between their parents and their husbands, saved the republic; the mother and the wife of Coriolanus by her prayers averted his wrath, and raised the siege of the Volscian army; Lucretia who voluntarily sacrificed her life to escape the outrage to her honor offered by king Tarquin, and Virginia who was killed by her father to save her from slavery and dishonor, shine in the legendary history of Rome as bright examples of unstained purity. But even in the best days of the republic the legal status of woman was very low. The Romans likewise made marriage altogether subservient to the interest of the state, and allowed it in its legal form to free citizens alone. The proud maxims of the republic prohibited even the legitimate nuptials of a Roman with a foreign queen; and Cleopatra and Berenice were, as strangers, degraded to the position of concubines of Mark Antony and Titus. According to ancient custom the husband bought his bride from her parents, and she fulfilled the *coëmption* by purchasing, with three pieces of copper, a just introduction to his house and household deities. But this was for her simply an exchange of one servitude for another. She became the living property of a husband who could lend her out, as Cato lent his wife to his friend Hortensius, and as Augustus took Livia from Tiberius Nero. "Her husband or master," says Gibbon,¹ "was invested with the plenitude of paternal power. By his judgment or caprice her behavior was approved or censured, or chastised; he exercised the jurisdiction of life and death; and it was allowed, that in cases of adultery or drunkenness, the sentence might be properly inflicted. She acquired and inherited for the sole profit of her lord; and so

¹ Chapter XLIV., where he discusses at length the Roman code of laws.

clearly was woman defined, not as a *person*, but as a *thing*, that, if the original title were deficient, she might be claimed like other movables, by the use and possession of an entire year."

Monogamy was the rule both in Greece and in Rome, but did not exclude illegitimate connexions. Concubinage, in its proper legal sense, was a sort of secondary marriage with a woman of servile or plebeian extraction, standing below the dignity of a matron and above the infamy of a prostitute. It was sanctioned and regulated by law; it prevailed both in the East and the West from the age of Augustus to the tenth century, and was preferred to regular marriage by Vespasian, and the two Antonines, the best Roman emperors. Adultery was severely punished, at times even with sudden destruction of the offender; but simply as an interference with the rights and property of a free *man*. The wife had no legal or social protection against the infidelity of her husband. The Romans worshipped a peculiar goddess of domestic life; but her name *Viriplaca*, the appeaser of husbands, indicates her partiality. The intercourse of a husband with the slaves of his household and with public prostitutes was excluded from the odium and punishment of adultery. We say nothing of that unnatural abomination alluded to in Rom. 1: 26, 27, which seems to have passed from the Etruscans and Greeks to the Romans, and prevailed among the highest as well as the lowest classes. The women, however, were almost as corrupt as their husbands, at least in the imperial age. Juvenal calls a chaste wife a "*rara avis in terris*." Under Augustus free-born daughters could no longer be found for the service of Vesta, and even the severest laws of Domitian could not prevent the six priestesses of the pure goddess from breaking their vow. The pantomimes and the games of Flora, with their audacious indecencies, were favorite amusements. "The unblushing, undisguised obscenity of the Epigrams of Martial, of the Romances of Apuleius and Petronius, and of some of the Dialogues of Lucian, reflected but too faithfully the spirit of their times."¹

¹ Lecky, II. 321.

Divorce is said to have been almost unknown in the ancient days of the Roman republic, and the marriage tie was regarded as indissoluble. A senator was censured for kissing his wife in the presence of their daughter. But the merit of this virtue is greatly diminished if we remember that the husband always had an easy outlet for his sensual passions in the intercourse with slaves and concubines. Nor did it outlast the republic. After the Punic war the increase of wealth and luxury, and the influx of Greek and Oriental licentiousness swept away the stern old Roman virtues. The customary civil and religious rites of marriage were gradually disused; the open community of life between persons of similar rank was taken as sufficient evidence of their nuptials; and marriage, after Augustus, fell to the level of any partnership, which might be dissolved by the abdication of one of the associates. "Passion, interest, or caprice," says Gibbon on the imperial age, "suggested daily motives for the dissolution of marriage; a word, a sign, a message, a letter, the mandate of a freedman, declared the separation; the most tender of human connections was degraded to a transient society of profit or pleasure."¹

¹ Gibbon (ch. XLIV.) confirms the statement by several examples, to which more might be added. Mæcenas, "*qui uxores millies duxit*" (Seneca, *Ep.* 114) was as notorious for his levity in forming and dissolving the nuptial tie, as famous for his patronage of literature and art. Martial (*Epigr.* VI. 7), though in evident poetical exaggeration, speaks of ten husbands in one month. Juvenal (*Satir.* VI. 229) exposes a matron, who in five years submitted to the embraces of eight husbands. Jerome (*Ad Gerontiam*) "saw at Rome a triumphant husband bury his twenty-first wife, who had interred twenty-two of his less sturdy predecessors." These are extreme cases, and hardly furnish a sufficient basis for a general judgment of the state of society in Rome, much less in the provinces. We should not forget the noble and faithful Roman women even in the days of imperial corruption, as Mallonia, who preferred suicide to the embraces of Tiberius; Helvia, the mother of Seneca, and Paulina his wife, who opened her veins to accompany him to the grave; the elder Arria who, when her husband Pætus was condemned to death under Claudius (42), and hesitated to commit suicide, plunged the dagger in her breast, and, drawing it out, said to him with her dying breath: "My Pætus, it does not pain" (*Pæte, non dolet*); and her worthy daughter, Cæcilia Arria, the wife of Thræsea, who was condemned to death (86), and her granddaughter Fannia, who accompanied her husband Helvidius Priscus twice into

Various remedies were tardily adopted as the evil spread, but they proved inefficient, until the spirit of Christianity gained the control of public opinion and improved the Roman legislation, which, however, continued for a long time to fluctuate between the custom of heathenism and the wishes of the church.

Another radical evil of heathen family life, which the church had to encounter throughout the whole extent of the Roman Empire, was the absolute tyrannical authority of the parent over the children, extending even to the power of life and death, and placing the adult son of a Roman citizen on a level with the movable things and slaves, "whom the capricious master might alienate or destroy, without being responsible to any earthly tribunal."

With this was connected the unnatural and monstrous custom of exposing poor, sickly, and deformed children to a cruel death, or in many cases to a life of slavery and infamy—a custom expressly approved, for the public interest, even by a Plato, an Aristotle, and a Seneca! "Monstrous offspring," says the great Stoic philosopher, "we destroy; children too, if born feeble and ill-formed, we drown. It is not wrath, but reason, thus to separate the useless from the healthy." "The exposition of children"—to quote once more from Gibbon—"was the prevailing and stubborn vice of antiquity: it was sometimes prescribed, banishment, and suffered a third for his sake after his execution (93). See Pliny, *Epist.* III. 16; Tacitus, *Ann.* XVI. 30-34; Friedlaender, I. 459 sqq. Nor should we overlook the monumental evidences of conjugal devotion and happiness in numerous Roman epitaphs. See Friedlaender, I. 463. Yet sexual immorality reached perhaps its lowest depths in imperial Rome, far lower than in the worst periods of the dark ages, or in England under Charles II., or in France under Louis XIV. and XV. And it is also certain, as Lecky says (II. 326), "that frightful excesses of unnatural passion, of which the most corrupt of modern courts present no parallel, were perpetrated with but little concealment on the Palatine." Prenuptial unchastity of men was all but universal among the Romans, according to Cicero's testimony. Even Epictetus, the severest among the Stoic moralists, enjoins only moderation, not entire abstinence, from this form of vice. Lampridius relates of Alexander Severus, who otherwise legislated against vice, that he provided his unmarried provincial governors with a concubine as a part of their outfit, because "they could not exist without one" (*quod sine concubinis esse non possent*)."

often permitted, almost always practised with impunity by the nations who never entertained the Roman ideas of paternal power; and the dramatic poets, who appeal to the human heart, represent with indifference a popular custom which was palliated by the motives of economy and compassion. . . . The Roman Empire was stained with the blood of infants, till such murders were included, by Valentinian and his colleagues, in the letter and spirit of the Cornelian law. The lessons of jurisprudence and Christianity had been insufficient to eradicate this inhuman practice, till their gentle influence was fortified by the terrors of capital punishment.”¹

§ 99. *The Christian Family.*

Such was the condition of the domestic life of the ancient world, when Christianity, with its doctrine of the sanctity of marriage, with its injunction of chastity, and with its elevation of woman from her half-slavish condition to moral dignity and equality with man, began the work of a silent transformation, which secured incalculable blessings to generations yet unborn. It laid the foundation for a well-ordered family life. It turned the eye from the outward world to the inward sphere of affection, from the all-absorbing business of politics and state-life into the sanctuary of home; and encouraged the nurture of those virtues of private life, without which no true public virtue can exist. But, as the evil here to be abated, particularly the degradation of the female sex and the want of chastity, was so deeply rooted and thoroughly interwoven in the whole life of the old world, this ennobling of the family, like the abolition of slavery, was necessarily a very slow process. We cannot wonder, therefore, at the high estimate of celibacy, which in the eyes of many seemed to be the only radical escape from the impurity and misery of married life as it generally stood among the heathen. But, although the fathers are much more frequent and enthusiastic in the praise of virginity than in that of marriage,

¹ Ch. XLIV. See a good chapter on the exposure of children in *Brace, Gesta Christi*, p. 72-83.

yet their views on this subject show an immense advance upon the moral standard of the greatest sages and legislators of Greece and Rome.

CHASTITY before marriage, in wedlock, and in celibacy, in man as well as in woman, so rare in paganism, was raised to the dignity of a cardinal virtue and made the corner-stone of the family. Many a female martyr preferred cruel torture and death to the loss of honor. When St. Perpetua fell half dead from the horns of a wild bull in the arena, she instinctively drew together her dress, which had been torn in the assault. The acts of martyrs and saints tell marvellous stories, exaggerated no doubt, yet expressive of the ruling Christian sentiment, about heroic resistance to carnal temptation, the sudden punishment of unjust charges of impurity by demoniacal possession or instant death, the rescue of courtesans from a life of shame and their radical conversion and elevation even to canonical sanctity.¹ The ancient councils deal much with carnal sins so fearfully prevalent, and unanimously condemn them in every shape and form. It is true, chastity in the early church and by the unanimous consent of the fathers was almost identified with celibacy, as we shall see hereafter; but this excess should not blind us to the immense advance of patristic over heathen morals.

WOMAN was emancipated, in the best sense of the term, from the bondage of social oppression, and made the life and light of a Christian home. Such pure and heroic virgins as the martyred Blandina, and Perpetua, and such devoted mothers as Nonna, Anthusa, and Monica, we seek in vain among the ancient Greek and Roman maidens and matrons, and we need not wonder that the heathen Libanius, judging from such examples as

¹ Among the converted courtesans of the ancient church in the Roman calendar are St. Mary Magdalene, St. Mary of Egypt, St. Afra, St. Pelagia, St. Thais, and St. Theodota. See Charles de Bussy, *Les Courtisanes saintes*. St. Vitalius, it is said, visited dens of vice every night, gave money to the inmates to keep them from sin, and offered up prayers for their conversion. A curious story is told of St. Serapion, who went to such a place by appointment, and prayed and prayed till the unfortunate courtesan was converted and fell half dead at his feet. See Lecky, II. 338.

the mother of his pupil Chrysostom, reluctantly exclaimed: "What women have these Christians!" The schoolmen of the middle ages derived from the formation of woman an ingenious argument for her proper position: Eve was not taken from the feet of Adam to be his slave, nor from his head to be his ruler, but from his side to be his beloved partner.¹

At the same time here also we must admit that the ancient church was yet far behind the ideal set up in the New Testament, and counterbalanced the elevation of woman by an extravagant over-estimate of celibacy. It was the virgin far more than the faithful wife and mother of children that was praised and glorified by the fathers; and among the canonized saints of the Catholic calendar there is little or no room for husbands and wives, although the patriarchs, Moses, and some of the greatest prophets (Isaiah, Ezekiel), and apostles (Peter taking the lead) lived in honorable wedlock.

MARRIAGE was regarded in the church from the beginning as a sacred union of body and soul for the propagation of civil society, and the kingdom of God, for the exercise of virtue and the promotion of happiness. It was clothed with a sacramental or semi-sacramental character on the basis of Paul's comparison of the marriage union with the relation of Christ to his church.²

¹ This beautiful idea (often attributed to Matthew Henry, the commentator) was first suggested by Augustin. *De Genesi ad Literam*, l. IX. c. 13 (in Migne's ed. of *Opera*, III. col. 402), and fully stated by Peter the Lombard, *Sentent.* l. II. Dist. XVIII. (*de formatione mulieris*): "*Mulier de viro, non de qualibet parte corporis viri, sed de latere eius formata est, ut ostenderetur quia in consortium creabatur dilectionis, ne forte si fuisset de capite facta, viro ad dominationem videretur preferenda; aut si de pedibus, ad servitutem subjienda. Quia igitur viro nec domina, nec ancilla parabatur, sed socia, nec capite, nec de pedibus, sed de latere fuerat producenda, ut iuxta se ponendam cognosceret quam de suo latere sumptam didicisset.*" And again by Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theol.* Pars. 1. Quæst. XCII. Art. III. (in Migne's ed. I. col. 1231).

² Eph. 5: 28-32. The Vulgate translates τὸ μυστήριον in ver. 32 by *sacramentum*, and thus furnished a quasi-exegetical foundation to the Catholic doctrine of the sacrament of marriage. The passage is so used by the Council of Trent and in the Roman Catechism. Ellicott (*in loc.*) judges that "the words cannot possibly be urged in favor of the sacramental nature of marriage, but that the very fact of the comparison does place marriage on a far holier and higher basis than modern theories are disposed to admit." Bengel refers "the

MIXED MARRIAGES with heathens, and also with heretics, were unanimously condemned by the voice of the church in agreement with the Mosaic legislation, unless formed before conversion, in which case they were considered valid.¹ Tertulian even classes such marriages with adultery. What heathen, asks he, will let his wife attend the nightly meetings of the church, and the slandered supper of the Lord, take care of the sick even in the poorest hovels, kiss the chains of the martyrs in prison, rise in the night for prayer, and show hospitality to strange brethren? Cyprian calls marriage with an unbeliever a prostitution of the members of Christ. The Council of Elvira in Spain (306) forbade such mixed marriages on pain of excommunication, but did not dissolve those already existing. We shall understand this strictness, if, to say nothing of the heathen marriage rites, and the wretchedly loose notions on chastity and conjugal fidelity, we consider the condition of those times, and the offences and temptations which met the Christian in the constant sight of images of the household gods, mythological pictures on the walls, the floor, and the furniture; in the libations at table; in short, at every step and turn in a pagan house.

SECOND MARRIAGE.—From the high view of marriage, and also from an ascetic over-estimate of celibacy, arose a very prevalent aversion to re-marriage, particularly of widows. The Shepherd of Hermas allows this reunion indeed, but with the reservation, that continuance in single life earns great honor with the Lord. Athenagoras goes so far as to call the second marriage a "decent adultery."²

The Montanists and Novatians condemned re-marriage, and made it a subject of discipline.

¹ According to 1 Cor. 7: 12, 16.

² *Legal.* 33: 'Ο δευτερος γάμος εὐπρεπὴς ἐστὶ μοιχεία. According to Origen, digamists may be saved, but will not be crowned by Christ (*Hom.* XVII. in *Luc.*). Theophilus, *Ad Autol.* III. 15, says that with the Christians *ἐγκάρεια δοκιμαίαι, μονογαμία τηρεῖται*. Perhaps even Irenæus held a similar view, to judge from the manner in which he speaks of the woman of Samaria (John 4: 7), "*quæ in uno viro non mansit, sed fornicata est in multis nuptiis.*" *Adv. Haer.* III. 17, § 2.

Tertullian came forward with the greatest decision, as advocate of monogamy against both successive and simultaneous polygamy.¹ He thought thus to occupy the true middle ground between the ascetic Gnostics, who rejected marriage altogether, and the Catholics, who allowed more than one.² In the earlier period of his life, when he drew the above picture of Christian marriage, before his adoption of Montanism, he already placed a high estimate on celibacy as a superior grade of Christian holiness, appealing to 1 Cor. 7: 9, and advised at least his wife, in case of his death, not to marry again, especially with a heathen; but in his Montanistic writings, "*De Exhortatione Castitatis*" and "*De Monogamia*," he repudiates second marriage from principle, and with fanatical zeal contends against it as unchristian, as an act of polygamy, nay of "*stuprum*" and "*adulterium*." He opposes it with all sorts of acute argument; now, on the ground of an ideal conception of marriage as a spiritual union of two souls for time and eternity; now, from an opposite sensuous view; and again, on principles equally good against all marriage and in favor of celibacy. Thus, on the one hand, he argues, that the second marriage impairs the spiritual fellowship with the former partner, which should continue beyond the grave, which should show itself in daily intercessions and in yearly celebration of the day of death, and which hopes even for outward re-union after the resurrection.³ On the other hand, however, he places the essence of marriage in the communion of flesh,⁴ and regards it as a mere concession, which God makes to

¹ Comp. Hauber: *Tertullian's Kampf gegen die zweite Ehe*, in the "Studien und Kritiken" for 1845, p. 607 sqq.

² *De Monog.* 1: "*Hæretici nuptias auferunt, psychici ingerunt; illi nec semel, isti non semel nubunt.*"

³ *De Exhort. Cast.* c. 11: "*Duplex rubor est, quia in secundo matrimonio duæ uxorēs eundem circumstant maritum, una spiritu, alia in carne. Neque enim pristinam poteris odisse, cui etiam religiosiorem reservas affectionem ut jam receptæ apud Dominum, pro cujus spiritu postulas, pro qua oblationes annuas reddis. Stabis ergo ad Dominum cum tot uxoribus quot in oratione commemoras, et offeres pro duabus,*" etc.

⁴ *De Exhort. Cast.* c. 9: "*Leges videntur matrimonii et stupri differentiam facere, per diversitatem illiciti, non per conditionem rei ipsius . . . Nuptiæ ipse ex eo constant quod est stuprum.*"

our sensuality, and which man therefore should not abuse by repetition. The ideal of the Christian life, with him, not only for the clergy, but the laity also, is celibacy. He lacks clear perception of the harmony of the moral and physical elements which constitutes the essence of marriage; and strongly as he elsewhere combats the Gnostic dualism, he here falls in with it in his depreciation of matter and corporeity, as necessarily incompatible with spirit. His treatment of the exegetical arguments of the defenders of second marriage is remarkable. The levirate law, he says, is peculiar to the Old Testament economy. To Rom. 7: 2 he replies, that Paul speaks here from the position of the Mosaic law, which, according to the same passage, is no longer binding on Christians. In 1 Cor. ch. 7, the apostle allows second marriage only in his subjective, human judgment, and from regard to our sensuous infirmity; but in the same chapter (ver. 40) he recommends celibacy to all, and that on the authority of the Lord, adding here, that he also has the Holy Spirit, *i. e.* the principle, which is active in the new prophets of Montanism. The appeal to 1 Tim. 3: 2; Tit. 1: 6, from which the right of laymen to second marriage was inferred, as the prohibition of it there related only to the clergy, he met with the doctrine of the universal priesthood of believers, which admitted them all both to the privileges and to the obligations of priests. But his reasoning always amounts in the end to this: that the state of original virgin purity, which has nothing at all to do with the sensual, is the best. The true chastity consists, therefore, not in the chaste spirit of married partners, but in the entire continence of "*virgines*" and "*spadones*." The desire of posterity, he, contrary to the Old Testament, considers unworthy of a Christian, who, in fact, ought to break away entirely from the world, and renounce all inheritance in it. Such a morality, forbidding the same that it allows, and rigorously setting as an ideal what it must in reality abate at least for the mass of mankind, may be very far above the heathen level, but is still plainly foreign to the deeper substance and the world-sanctifying principle of Christianity.

The Catholic church, indeed, kept aloof from this Montanistic extravagance, and forbade second marriage only to the clergy (which the Greek church does to this day); yet she rather advised against it, and leaned very decidedly towards a preference for celibacy, as a higher grade of Christian morality.¹

- As to the relation of PARENTS and CHILDREN, Christianity exerted from the beginning a most salutary influence. It restrained the tyrannical power of the father. It taught the eternal value of children as heirs of the kingdom of heaven, and commenced the great work of education on a religious and moral basis. It resisted with all energy the exposition of children, who were then generally devoured by dogs and wild beasts, or, if found, trained up for slavery or doomed to a life of infamy. Several apologists, the author to the Epistle of Diognetus, Justin Martyr,² Minutius Felix, Tertullian, and Arnobius speak with just indignation against this unnatural custom. Athenagoras declares abortion and exposure to be equal to murder.³ No heathen philosopher had advanced so far. Lactantius also puts exposure on a par with murder even of the worst kind, and admits no excuse on the ground of pity or poverty, since God provides for all his creatures.⁴ The Christian spirit of

¹ "*Non prohibemus secundas nuptias,*" says Ambrose, "*sed non suademus.*" None of the fathers recommends re-marriage or even approves of it. Jerome represented the prevailing view of the Nicene age. He took the lowest view of marriage as a mere safeguard against fornication and adultery, and could conceive of no other motive for second or third marriage but animal passion. "The first Adam," he says, "had one wife; the second Adam had no wife. Those who approve of digamy hold forth a third Adam, who was twice married, whom they follow" (*Contra Jovin.* 1). Gregory of Nazianzum infers from the analogy of marriage to the union of Christ with his church that second marriage is to be reproved, as there is but one Christ and one church (*Orat.* XXXI).

² *Apol.* I. 27 and 29. ³ *Apol.* c. 35.

⁴ *Inst. Div.* vi. 20 (p. 48 ed. Lips.): "Let no one imagine that even this is allowed, to strangle newly-born children, which is the greatest impiety; for God breathes into their souls for life, and not for death. But men (that there may be no crime with which they may not pollute their hands) deprive souls as yet innocent and simple of the light which they themselves have not given. Can they be considered innocent who expose their own offspring as a prey to dogs, and as far as it depends upon themselves, kill them in a more cruel

humanity gradually so penetrated the spirit of the age that the better emperors, from the time of Trajan, began to direct their attention to the diminution of these crying evils; but the best legal enactments would never have been able to eradicate them without the spiritual influence of the church. The institutions and donations of Trajan, Antonius Pius, Septimius Severus, and private persons, for the education of poor children, boys and girls, were approaches of the nobler heathen towards the genius of Christianity. Constantine proclaimed a law in 315 throughout Italy "to turn parents from using a parricidal hand on their new-born children, and to dispose their hearts to the best sentiments." The Christian fathers, councils, emperors, and lawgivers united their efforts to uproot this monstrous evil and to banish it from the civilized world.¹

§ 100. *Brotherly Love, and Love for Enemies.*

SCHAUBACH: *Das Verhältniss der Moral des classischen Alterthums zur christlichen, beleuchtet durch vergleichende Erörterung der Lehre von der Feindesliebe*, in the "Studien und Kritiken" for 1851, p. 59-121. Also the works of SCHMIDT, CHASTEL, UHLHORN, etc., quoted at § 88.

It is generally admitted, that selfishness was the soul of heathen morality. The great men of antiquity rose above its sordid forms, love of gain and love of pleasure, but were the more

manner than if they had strangled them? Who can doubt that he is impious who gives occasion for the pity of others? For, although that which he has wished should befall the child—namely, that it should be brought up—he has certainly consigned his own offspring either to servitude or to the brothel? But who does not understand, who is ignorant what things may happen, or are accustomed to happen, in the case of each sex, even through error? For this is shown by the example of Œdipus alone, confused with twofold guilt. It is therefore as wicked to expose as it is to kill. But truly parricides complain of the scantiness of their means, and allege that they have not enough for bringing up more children; as though, in truth, their means were in the power of those who possess them, or God did not daily make the rich poor, and the poor rich. Wherefore, if any one on account of poverty shall be unable to bring up children, it is better to abstain from marriage than with wicked hands to mar the work of God."

¹ For further details see Brace, *l. c.* 79 sqq., and Terme et Monfalcon, *Hist. des enfants trouvés*. Paris, 1840.

under the power of ambition and love of fame. It was for fame that Miltiades and Themistocles fought against the Persians; that Alexander set out on his tour of conquest; that Herodotus wrote his history, that Pindar sang his odes, that Sophocles composed his tragedies, that Demosthenes delivered his orations, that Phidias sculptured his Zeus. Fame was set forth in the Olympian games as the highest object of life; fame was held up by Æschylus as the last comfort of the suffering; fame was declared by Cicero, before a large assembly, the ruling passion of the very best of men.¹ Even the much-lauded patriotism of the heroes of ancient Greece and Rome was only an enlarged egotism. In the catalogue of classical virtues we look in vain for the two fundamental and cardinal virtues, love and humility. The very word which corresponds in Greek to humility² signifies generally, in classical usage, a mean, abject mind. The noblest and purest form of love known to the heathen moralist is friendship, which Cicero praises as the highest good next to wisdom. But friendship itself rested, as was freely admitted, on a utilitarian, that is, on an egotistic basis, and was only possible among persons of equal or similar rank in society. For the stranger, the barbarian, and the enemy, the Greek and Roman knew no love, but only contempt and hatred. The *jus talionis*, the return of evil for evil, was universally acknowledged throughout the heathen world as a just principle and maxim, in direct opposition to the plainest injunctions of the New Testament.³ We must offend those who offend us, says Æschylus.⁴ Not to take revenge was regarded as a sign of weakness and cowardice. To return evil for good is devilish; to return good for good is human and common to all religions; to return good

¹ *Pro Archia poeta*, c. 11: "*Trahimur omnes laudis studio, et optimus quisque maxime gloria ducitur.*"

² Ταπεινός, ταπεινόφρων, ταπεινότης, ταπεινοφροσύνη.

³ Matt. 5: 23, 24, 44; 6: 12; 18: 21. Rom. 12: 17, 19, 20. 1 Cor. 13: 7. 1 Thess. 5: 15. 1 Pet. 3: 9.

⁴ *Prom. Vinc.* v. 1005, comp. 1040. Many passages of similar import from Homer, Hesiod, Sophocles, Euripides, etc., see quoted on p. 81 sqq. of the article of Schaubach referred to above.

for evil is Christlike and divine, and only possible in the Christian religion.

On the other hand, however, we should suppose that every Christian virtue must find some basis in the noblest moral instincts and aspirations of nature; since Christianity is not against nature, but simply above it and intended for it. Thus we may regard the liberality, benevolence, humanity and magnanimity which we meet with in heathen antiquity, as an approximation to, and preparation for, the Christian virtue of charity. The better schools of moralists rose more or less above the popular approval of hatred of the enemy, wrath and revenge. Aristotle and the Peripatetics, without condemning this passion as wrong in itself, enjoined at least moderation in its exercise. The Stoics went further, and required complete apathy or suppression of all strong and passionate affections. Cicero even declares placability and clemency one of the noblest traits in the character of a great man,¹ and praises Cæsar for forgetting nothing except injuries. Seneca, Epictetus, Plutarch, and Marcus Aurelius, who were already indirectly and unconsciously under the influence of the atmosphere of Christian morality, decidedly condemn anger and vindictiveness, and recommend kindness to slaves, and a generous treatment even of enemies.

But this sort of love for an enemy, it should be remembered, in the first place, does not flow naturally from the spirit of heathenism, but is, as it were, an accident and exception; secondly, it is not enjoined as a general duty, but expected only from the great and the wise; thirdly, it does not rise above the conception of magnanimity, which, more closely considered, is itself connected with a refined form of egotism, and with a noble pride that regards it below the dignity of a gentleman to notice the malice of inferior men;² fourthly, it is commended only in its

¹ *De Offic.* I. 25: "*Nihil enim laudabilius, nihil magno et præclaro viro dignius placabilitate et clementia.*"

² *Comp. Seneca, De ira* II. 32: "*Magni animi est injurias despiciere. Ille magnus et nobilis est, qui more magnæ feræ latratus minorum canum securus exaudit.*"

negative aspect as refraining from the right of retaliation, not as active benevolence and charity to the enemy, which returns good for evil; and finally, it is nowhere derived from a religious principle, the love of God to man, and therefore has no proper root, and lacks the animating soul.

No wonder, then, that in spite of the finest maxims of a few philosophers, the imperial age was controlled by the coldest selfishness, so that, according to the testimony of Plutarch, friendship had died out even in families, and the love of brothers and sisters was supposed to be possible only in a heroic age long passed by. The old Roman world was a world without charity. Julian the Apostate, who was educated a Christian, tried to engraft charity upon heathenism, but in vain. The idea of the infinite value of each human soul, even the poorest and humblest, was wanting, and with it the basis for true charity.

It was in such an age of universal egotism that Christianity first revealed the true spirit of love to man as flowing from the love of God, and exhibited it in actual life. This cardinal virtue we meet first within the Church itself, as the bond of union among believers, and the sure mark of the genuine disciple of Jesus. "That especially," says Tertullian to the heathen, in a celebrated passage of his *Apologeticus*, "which love works among us, exposes us to many a suspicion. 'Behold,' they say, 'how they love one another!' Yea, verily this must strike them; for *they* hate each other. 'And how ready they are to die for one another!' Yea, truly; for *they* are rather ready to kill one another. And even that we call each other 'brethren,' seems to them suspicious for no other reason, than that, among them, all expressions of kindred are only feigned. We are even *your* brethren, in virtue of the common nature, which is the mother of us all; though ye, as evil brethren, deny your human nature. But how much more justly are those called and considered brethren, who acknowledge the one God as their Father; who have received the one Spirit of holiness; who have awaked from the same darkness of uncertainty to the light of the same truth? . . . And we, who are united in spirit and in soul, do not hesi-

tate to have also all things common, except wives. For we break fellowship just where other men practice it."

This brotherly love flowed from community of life in Christ. Hence Ignatius calls believers "Christ-bearers" and "God-bearers."¹ The article of the Apostles' Creed: "I believe in the communion of saints;" the current appellation of "brother" and "sister;" and the fraternal kiss usual on admission into the church, and at the Lord's Supper, were not empty forms, nor even a sickly sentimentalism, but the expression of true feeling and experience, only strengthened by the common danger and persecution. A travelling Christian, of whatever language or country, with a letter of recommendation from his bishop,² was everywhere hospitably received as a long known friend. It was a current phrase: In thy brother thou hast seen the Lord himself. The force of love reached beyond the grave. Families were accustomed to celebrate at appointed times the memory of their departed members; and this was one of the grounds on which Tertullian opposed second marriage.

The brotherly love expressed itself, above all, in the most self-sacrificing beneficence to the poor and sick, to widows and orphans, to strangers and prisoners, particularly to confessors in bonds. It magnifies this virtue in our view, to reflect, that the Christians at that time belonged mostly to the lower classes, and in times of persecution often lost all their possessions. Every congregation was a charitable society, and in its public worship took regular collections for its needy members. The offerings at the communion and love-feasts, first held on the evening, afterwards on the morning of the Lord's Day, were considered a part of worship.³ To these were added numberless private charities, given in secret, which eternity alone will reveal. The church at Rome had under its care a great multitude of widows, orphans,

¹ Χριστοφόροι, θεοφόροι.

² Γράμματα τετυπωμένα or κοινωνικά; *epistolæ* or *litteræ formatæ*; so called, because composed after a certain τύπος or *forma*, to guard against frequent forgeries.

³ Comp. James 1: 27; Hebr. 13: 1-8, 16.

blind, lame, and sick,¹ whom the deacon Laurentius, in the Decian persecution, showed to the heathen prefect, as the most precious treasures of the church. It belonged to the idea of a Christian housewife, and was particularly the duty of the deaconesses, to visit the Lord, to clothe him, and give him meat and drink, in the persons of his needy disciples. Even such opponents of Christianity as Lucian testify to this zeal of the Christians in labors of love, though they see in it nothing but an innocent fanaticism. "It is incredible," says Lucian, "to see the ardor with which the people of that religion help each other in their wants. They spare nothing. Their first legislator has put into their heads that they are all brethren."²

This beneficence reached beyond the immediate neighborhood. Charity begins at home, but does not stay at home. In cases of general distress the bishops appointed special collections, and also fasts, by which food might be saved for suffering brethren. The Roman church sent its charities great distances abroad.³ Cyprian of Carthage, who, after his conversion, sold his own estates for the benefit of the poor, collected a hundred thousand sestertia, or more than three thousand dollars, to redeem Christians of Numidia, who had been taken captive by neighboring barbarians; and he considered it a high privilege "to be able to ransom for a small sum of money him, who has redeemed us from the dominion of Satan with his own blood." A father, who refused to give alms on account of his children, Cyprian charged with the additional sin of binding his children to an earthly inheritance, instead of pointing them to the richest and most loving Father in heaven.

Finally, this brotherly love expanded to love even for enemies, which returned the heathens good for evil, and not rarely, in persecutions and public misfortunes, heaped coals of fire on their heads. During the persecution under Gallus (252), when the pestilence raged in Carthage, and the heathens threw out their dead and sick upon the streets, ran away from them for

¹ Cornelius, in Euseb. *H. E.* VI. 43.

² *De Morte Peregr.* c. 13.

³ Dionysius of Corinth, in Eus. IV. 23.

fear of the contagion, and cursed the Christians as the supposed authors of the plague, Cyprian assembled his congregation, and exhorted them to love their enemies; whereupon all went to work; the rich with their money, the poor with their hands, and rested not, till the dead were buried, the sick cared for, and the city saved from desolation. The same self-denial appeared in the Christians of Alexandria during a ravaging plague under the reign of Gallienus. These are only a few prominent manifestations of a spirit which may be traced through the whole history of martyrdom and the daily prayers of the Christians for their enemies and persecutors. For while the love of friends, says Tertullian, is common to all men, the love of enemies is a virtue peculiar to Christians.¹ "You forget," he says to the heathens in his Apology, "that, notwithstanding your persecutions, far from conspiring against you, as our numbers would perhaps furnish us with the means of doing, we pray for you and do good to you; that, if we give nothing for your gods, we do give for your poor, and that our charity spreads more alms in your streets than the offerings presented by your religion in your temples."

The organized congregational charity of the ante-Nicene age provided for all the immediate wants. When the state professed Christianity, there sprang up permanent charitable institutions for the poor, the sick, for strangers, widows, orphans, and helpless old men.² The first clear proof of such institutions we find in the age of Julian the Apostate, who tried to check the progress of Christianity and to revive paganism by directing the high priest of Galatia, Arsacius, to establish in every town a Xenodochium to be supported by the state and also by private contributions; for, he said, it was a shame that the heathen

¹ *Ad Scapulam*, c. 1: "*Ita enim disciplina jubemur diligere inimicos quoque et orare pro iis qui nos persequuntur, ut hæc sit perfecta et propria bonitas nostra, non communis. Amicos enim diligere omnium est, inimicos autem solum Christianorum.*"

² Nosocomia, Ptochotrophia, Xenodochia, Cherotrophia, Orphanotrophia, Brephotrophia, Gerontocomia (for old men).

should be left without support from their own, while "among the Jews no beggar can be found, and the godless Galilæans" (*i. e.* the Christians) "nourish not only their own, but even our own poor." A few years afterwards (370) we hear of a celebrated hospital at Cæsarea, founded by St. Basilus, and called after him "Basiliæ," and similar institutions all over the province of Cappadocia. We find one at Antioch at the time of Chrysostom, who took a practical interest in it. At Constantinople there were as many as thirty-five hospitals. In the West such institutions spread rapidly in Rome, Sicily, Sardinia, and Gaul.¹

§ 101. *Prayer and Fasting.*

IN regard to the importance and the necessity of prayer, as the pulse and thermometer of spiritual life, the ancient church had but one voice. Here the plainest and the most enlightened Christians met; the apostolic fathers, the steadfast apologists, the realistic Africans, and the idealistic Alexandrians. Tertulian sees in prayer the daily sacrifice of the Christian, the bulwark of faith, the weapon against all the enemies of the soul. The believer should not go to his bath nor take his food without prayer; for the nourishing and refreshing of the spirit must precede that of the body, and the heavenly must go before the earthly. "Prayer," says he, "blots out sins, repels temptations, quenches persecutions, comforts the desponding, blesses the high-minded, guides the wanderers, calms the billows, feeds the poor, directs the rich, raises the fallen, holds up the falling, preserves them that stand." Cyprian requires prayer by day and by night; pointing to heaven, where we shall never cease to pray and give thanks. The same father, however, falls already into that false, unevangelical view, which represents prayer as a meritorious work and a satisfaction to be rendered to God.² Clement of

¹ See Uhlhorn, *Book III. ch. 4* (p. 319 *sqq.*).

² *De Orat. Domin.* 33: "*Cito orationes ad Deum addecidunt, quas ad Deum merita operis nostri imponunt.*" *De Lapsis* 17: "*Dominus orandus est, Dominus nostra satisfactione placandus est.*" *Epist.* xl. 2: "*Preces et orationes, quibus Dominus longæ et continua satisfactione placandus est.*"

Alexandria conceives the life of a genuine Christian as an unbroken prayer. "In every place he will pray, though not openly, in the sight of the multitude. Even on his walks, in his intercourse with others, in silence, in reading, and in labor, he prays in every way. And though he commune with God only in the chamber of his soul, and call upon the Father only with a quiet sigh, the Father is near him." The same idea we find in Origen, who discourses in enthusiastic terms of the mighty inward and outward effects of prayer, and with all his enormous learning, regards prayer as the sole key to the spiritual meaning of the Scriptures.

The order of human life, however, demands special times for this consecration of the every-day business of men. The Christians generally followed the Jewish usage, observed as times of prayer the hours of nine, twelve, and three, corresponding also to the crucifixion of Christ, his death, and his descent from the cross; the cock-crowing likewise, and the still hour of midnight they regarded as calls to prayer.

With prayer for their own welfare, they united intercessions for the whole church, for all classes of men, especially for the sick and the needy, and even for the unbelieving. Polycarp enjoins on the church of Philippi to pray for all the saints, for kings and rulers, for haters and persecutors, and for the enemies of the cross. "We pray," says Tertullian, "even for the emperors and their ministers, for the holders of power on earth, for the repose of all classes, and for the delay of the end of the world."

With the free outpourings of the heart, without which living piety cannot exist, we must suppose, that, after the example of the Jewish church, standing forms of prayer were also used, especially such as were easily impressed on the memory and could thus be freely delivered. The familiar "*ex pectore*" and "*sine monitore*" of Tertullian prove nothing against this; for a prayer committed to memory may and should be at the same time a prayer of the heart, as a familiar psalm or hymn may be read or sung with ever new devotion. The general use of the

Lord's Prayer in the ancient church in household and public worship is beyond all doubt. The most eminent fathers of the second and third centuries, as Tertullian, Cyprian, Origen, wrote special treatises upon it. They considered it the model prayer, prescribed by the Lord for the whole church. Tertullian calls it the "regular and usual prayer, a brief summary of the whole gospel, and foundation of all the other prayers of the Christians." The use of it, however, was restricted to communicants; because the address presupposes the worshipper's full sonship with God, and because the fourth petition was taken in a mystical sense, as referring to the holy Supper, and was therefore thought not proper for catechumens.

As to posture in prayer; kneeling or standing, the raising or closing of the eyes, the extension or elevation of the hands, were considered the most suitable expressions of a bowing spirit and a soul directed towards God. On Sunday the standing posture was adopted, in token of festive joy over the resurrection from sin and death. But there was no uniform law in regard to these forms. Origen lays chief stress on the lifting of the soul to God and the bowing of the heart before him; and says that, where circumstances require, one can worthily pray sitting, or lying, or engaged in business.

After the Jewish custom, FASTING was frequently joined with prayer, that the mind, unencumbered by earthly matter, might devote itself with less distraction to the contemplation of divine things. The apostles themselves sometimes employed this wholesome discipline,¹ though without infringing the gospel freedom by legal prescriptions. As the Pharisees were accustomed to fast twice in the week, on Monday and Thursday, the Christians appointed Wednesday and especially Friday, as days of half-fasting or abstinence from flesh,² in commemoration of the passion and crucifixion of Jesus. They did this with reference to the Lord's words: "When the bridegroom shall be taken away from them, then will they fast."³

¹ Comp. Acts 13: 2; 14: 23; 2 Cor. 6: 5.

² *Semijejunium, abstinencia.*

³ Matt. 9: 15.

In the second century arose also the custom of Quadragesimal fasts before Easter, which, however, differed in length in different countries; being sometimes reduced to forty hours, sometimes extended to forty days, or at least to several weeks. Perhaps equally ancient are the nocturnal fasts or vigils before the high festivals, suggested by the example of the Lord and the apostles.¹ But the Quatemporal fasts² are of later origin, though founded likewise on a custom of the Jews after the exile. On special occasions the bishops appointed extraordinary fasts, and applied the money saved to charitable purposes; a usage which became often a blessing to the poor. Yet hierarchical arrogance and Judaistic legalism early intruded here, even to the entire destruction of the liberty of a Christian man.³

This rigidity appeared most in the Montanists. Besides the usual fasts, they observed special *Xerophagia*,⁴ as they were called; seasons of two weeks for eating only dry, or properly uncooked food, bread, salt, and water. The Catholic church, with true feeling, refused to sanction these excesses as a general rule, but allowed ascetics to carry fasting even to extremes. A confessor in Lyons, for example, lived on bread and water alone, but forsook that austerity when reminded that he gave offence to other Christians by so despising the gifts of God.

Against the frequent over-valuation of fasting, Clement of Alexandria quotes the word of Paul: The kingdom of God is not meat and drink, therefore neither abstinence from wine and flesh, but righteousness and peace and joy in the Holy Spirit.

§ 102. *Treatment of the Dead.*

Comp. Chapter VII. on the Catacombs.

The pious care of the living for the beloved dead is rooted in the noblest instincts of human nature, and is found among all nations, ancient and modern, even among barbarians. Hence

¹ Luke 6: 12. Acts 16: 25.

² From *quatvor tempora*.

³ Comp. Matt. 9: 15; Gal. 4: 9; 5: 1.

⁴ *Ξεροφαγία*, *aridus victus*. See Tertullian, *De Jejuu*, 15; Hippolytus, *Philos.* VIII. 19.

the general custom of surrounding the funeral with solemn rites and prayers, and giving the tomb a sacred and inviolable character. The profane violation of the dead and robbery of graves were held in desecration, and punished by law.¹ No traditions and laws were more sacred among the Egyptians, Greeks, and Romans than those that guarded and protected the shades of the departed who can do no harm to any of the living. "It is the popular belief," says Tertullian, "that the dead cannot enter Hades before they are buried." Patroclus appears after his death to his friend Achilles in a dream, and thus exhorts him to provide for his speedy burial :

"Achilles, sleepest thou, forgetting me?
Never of me unmindful in my life,
Thou dost neglect me dead. O, bury me
Quickly, and give me entrance through the gates
Of Hades; for the souls, the forms of those
Who live no more, repulse me, suffering not
That I should join their company beyond
The river, and I now must wander round
The spacious portals of the House of Death."²

Christianity intensified this regard for the departed, and gave it a solid foundation by the doctrine of the immortality of the soul and the resurrection of the body. Julian the Apostate traced the rapid spread and power of that religion to three causes: benevolence, care of the dead, and honesty.³ After the persecution under Marcus Aurelius, the Christians in Southern Gaul were much distressed because the enraged heathens would not deliver them the corpses of their brethren for burial.⁴ Sometimes the vessels of the church were sold for the purpose. During the ravages of war, famine, and pestilence, they considered it their duty to bury the heathen as well as their fellow-

¹ And it occurs occasionally even among Christian nations. The corpse of the richest merchant prince of New York, Alexander T. Stewart (d. 1876), was stolen from St. Mark's grave-yard, and his splendid mausoleum in Garden City on Long Island is empty.

² *Iliad* XXIII. 81-88, in Bryant's translation (II. 234).

³ *Epist.* XLIX. ad Arsacium, the pagan high-priest in Galatia.

⁴ *Eus.* IX. 8.

Christians. When a pestilence depopulated the cities in the reign of the tyrannical persecutor Maximinus, "the Christians were the only ones in the midst of such distressing circumstances that exhibited sympathy and humanity in their conduct. They continued the whole day, some in the care and burial of the dead, for numberless were they for whom there was none to care; others collected the multitude of those wasting by the famine throughout the city, and distributed bread among all. So that the fact was cried abroad, and men glorified the God of the Christians, constrained, as they were by the facts, to acknowledge that these were the only really pious and the only real worshippers of God."¹ Lactantius says: "The last and greatest office of piety is the burying of strangers and the poor; which subject these teachers of virtue and justice have not touched upon at all, as they measure all their duties by utility. We will not suffer the image and workmanship of God to lie exposed as a prey to beasts and birds; but we will restore it to the earth, from which it had its origin; and although it be in the case of an unknown man, we will fulfil the office of relatives, into whose place, since they are wanting, let kindness succeed; and wherever there shall be need of man, there we will think that our duty is required."²

The early church differed from the pagan and even from the Jewish notions by a cheerful and hopeful view of death, and by discarding lamentations, rending of clothes, and all signs of extravagant grief. The terrors of the grave were dispelled by the light of the resurrection, and the idea of death was transformed into the idea of a peaceful slumber. No one, says Cyprian, should be made sad by death, since in living is labor and peril, in dying peace and the certainty of resurrection; and he quotes the examples of Enoch who was translated, of Simeon who wished to depart in peace, several passages from Paul, and the assurance of the Lord that he went to the Father to prepare heavenly mansions for us.³ The day of a believer's death, espe-

¹ Eusebius, *H. E.* V. 1.² *Instit. Div.* VI. c. 12.³ *Testim.* I. III. c. 58.

cially if he were a martyr, was called the day of his heavenly birth. His grave was surrounded with symbols of hope and of victory; anchors, harps, palms, crowns. The primitive Christians always showed a tender care for the dead; under a vivid impression of the unbroken communion of saints and the future resurrection of the body in glory. For Christianity redeems the body as well as the soul, and consecrates it a temple of the Holy Spirit. Hence the Greek and Roman custom of burning the corpse (*crematio*) was repugnant to Christian feeling and the sacredness of the body.¹ Tertullian even declared it a symbol of the fire of hell, and Cyprian regarded it as equivalent to apostasy. In its stead, the church adopted the primitive Jewish usage of burial (*inhumatio*),² practiced also by the Egyptians and Babylonians. The bodies of the dead were washed,³ wrapped in linen cloths,⁴ sometimes embalmed,⁵ and then, in the presence of ministers, relatives, and friends, with prayer and singing of psalms, committed as seeds of immortality to the bosom of the earth. Funeral discourses were very common as early as the Nicene period.⁶ But in the times of persecution the interment was often necessarily performed as hastily and secretly as possible. The death-days of martyrs the church celebrated annually at their graves with oblations, love-feasts, and the Lord's Supper. Families likewise commemorated their departed members in the domestic circle. The current prayers for the dead were originally only thanksgivings for the grace of God

¹ Comp. 1 Cor. 3: 16; 6: 19; 2 Cor. 6: 16. Burial was the prevailing Oriental and even the earlier Roman custom before the empire, and was afterwards restored, no doubt under the influence of Christianity. Minucius Felix says (*Octav.* c. 34): "*Vetrem et meliorem consuetudinem humandi frequentamus.*" Comp. Cicero, *De Leg.* II. 22; Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* VII. 54; Augustin, *De Civ. Dei* I. 12, 13. Sometimes dead Christians were burned during the persecution by the heathen to ridicule their hope of a resurrection.

² Comp. Gen. 23: 19; Matt. 27: 60; John 11: 17; Acts 5: 6; 8: 2.

³ Acts 9: 37.

⁴ Matt. 27: 59; Luke 23: 53; John 11: 44.

⁵ John 19: 39 sq.; 12: 7.

⁶ We have the funeral orations of Eusebius at the death of Constantine, of Gregory of Nazianzum on his father, brother, and sister, of Ambrose on Theodosius.

manifested to them. But they afterwards passed into intercessions, without any warrant in the teaching of the apostles, and in connection with questionable views in regard to the intermediate state. Tertullian, for instance, in his argument against second marriage, says of the Christian widow, she prays for the soul of her departed husband,¹ and brings her annual offering on the day of his departure.

The same feeling of the inseparable communion of saints gave rise to the usage, unknown to the heathens, of consecrated places of common burial.² For these cemeteries, the Christians, in the times of persecution, when they were mostly poor and enjoyed no corporate rights, selected remote, secret spots, and especially subterranean vaults, called at first *crypts*, but after the sixth century commonly termed *catacombs*, or resting-places, which have been discussed in a previous chapter.

We close with a few stanzas of the Spanish poet Prudentius (d. 405), in which he gives forcible expression to the views and feelings of the ancient church before the open grave:³

"No more, ah, no more sad complaining;
Resign these fond pledges to earth:
Stay, mothers, the thick-falling tear-drops;
This death is a heavenly birth.

Take, Earth, to thy bosom so tender,—
Take, nourish this body. How fair,
How noble in death! We surrender
These relics of man to thy care.

This, this was the home of the spirit,
Once built by the breath of our God;
And here, in the light of his wisdom,
Christ, Head of the risen, abode.

¹ "*Pro anima ejus orat.*" Compare, however, the prevailing cheerful tone of the epigraphs in the catacombs, p. 301-303.

² Κοιμητήρια, *cimeteria, dormitoria, arææ.*

³ From his *Iam mæsta quiesce querela*, the concluding part of his tenth *Cathemerinon*, *Opera*, ed. Obbarius (1845), p. 41; Schaff, *Christ in Song*, p. 506 (London ed.). Another version by E. Caswall: "Cease, ye tearful mourners, Thus your hearts to rend: Death is life's beginning Rather than its end."

Guard well the dear treasure we lend thee
 The Maker, the Saviour of men :
 Shall never forget His beloved,
 But claim His own likeness again.”

§ 103. *Summary of Moral Reforms.*

Christianity represents the thoughts and purposes of God in history. They shine as so many stars in the darkness of sin and error. They are unceasingly opposed, but make steady progress and are sure of final victory. Heathen ideas and practices with their degrading influences controlled the ethics, politics, literature, and the house and home of emperor and peasant, when the little band of despised and persecuted followers of Jesus of Nazareth began the unequal struggle against overwhelming odds and stubborn habits. It was a struggle of faith against superstition, of love against selfishness, of purity against corruption, of spiritual forces against political and social power.

Under the inspiring influence of the spotless purity of Christ's teaching and example, and aided here and there by the nobler instincts and tendencies of philosophy, the Christian church from the beginning asserted the individual rights of man, recognized the divine image in every rational being, taught the common creation and common redemption, the destination of all for immortality and glory, raised the humble and the lowly, comforted the prisoner and captive, the stranger and the exile, proclaimed chastity as a fundamental virtue, elevated woman to dignity and equality with man, upheld the sanctity and inviolability of the marriage tie, laid the foundation of a Christian family and happy home, moderated the evils and undermined the foundations of slavery, opposed polygamy and concubinage, emancipated the children from the tyrannical control of parents, denounced the exposure of children as murder, made relentless war upon the bloody games of the arena and the circus, and the shocking indecencies of the theatre, upon cruelty and oppression and every vice, infused into a heartless and loveless world the spirit of love and brotherhood, transformed sinners into saints, frail

women into heroines, and lit up the darkness of the tomb by the bright ray of unending bliss in heaven.

Christianity reformed society from the bottom, and built upwards until it reached the middle and higher classes, and at last the emperor himself. Then soon after the conversion of Constantine it began to influence legislation, abolished cruel institutions, and enacted laws which breathe the spirit of justice and humanity. We may deplore the evils which followed in the train of the union of church and state, but we must not overlook its many wholesome effects upon the Justinian code which gave Christian ideas an institutional form and educational power for whole generations to this day. From that time on also began the series of charitable institutions for widows and orphans, for the poor and the sick, the blind and the deaf, the intemperate and criminal, and for the care of all unfortunate,—institutions which we seek in vain in any other but Christian countries.

Nor should the excesses of asceticism blind us against the moral heroism of renouncing rights and enjoyments innocent in themselves, but so generally abused and poisoned, that total abstinence seemed to most of the early fathers the only radical and effective cure. So in our days some of the best of men regard total abstinence rather than temperance, the remedy of the fearful evils of intemperance.

Christianity could not prevent the irruption of the Northern barbarians and the collapse of the Roman empire. The process of internal dissolution had gone too far; nations as well as individuals may physically and morally sink so low that they are beyond the possibility of recovery. Tacitus, the heathen Stoic in the second century, and Salvianus, the Christian presbyter in the fifth, each a Jeremiah of his age, predicted the approaching doom and destruction of Roman society, looked towards the savage races of the North for fresh blood and new vigor. But the Keltic and Germanic conquerors would have turned Southern Europe into a vast solitude (as the Turks have laid waste the fairest portions of Asia), if they had not embraced the principles, laws, and institutions of the Christian church.

CHAPTER IX.

ASCETIC TENDENCIES.

§ 104. *Ascetic Virtue and Piety.*

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- H. WEINGARTEN: *Ueber den Ursprung des Mönchthums im nach-Konstantinischen Zeitalter*. Gotha, 1877. And his article in Herzog's "Encykl." new ed. vol. X. (1882) p. 758 sqq. (abridged in Schaff's Herzog, vol. II. 1551 sqq. N. Y. 1883).
- AD. HAENACK: *Das Mönchthum, seine Ideale und seine Geschichte*. Giessen, 1882.

The general literature on Monasticism is immense, but belongs to the next period. See vol. III. 147 sq., and the list of books in Zöckler, *l. c.* p. 10-16.

HERE we enter a field where the early church appears most remote from the free spirit of evangelical Protestantism and modern ethics, and stands nearest the legalistic and monastic ethics of Greek and Roman Catholicism. Christian life was viewed as consisting mainly in certain outward exercises, rather than an inward disposition, in a multiplicity of acts rather than a life of faith. The great ideal of virtue was, according to the prevailing notion of the fathers and councils, not so much to transform the world and sanctify the natural things and rela-

tions created by God, as to flee from the world into monastic seclusion, and voluntarily renounce property and marriage. The Pauline doctrine of faith and of justification by grace alone steadily retreated, or rather, it was never yet rightly enthroned in the general thought and life of the church. The qualitative view of morality yielded more and more to quantitative calculation by the number of outward meritorious and even supererogatory works, prayer, fasting, alms-giving, voluntary poverty, and celibacy. This necessarily brought with it a Judaizing self-righteousness and over-estimate of the ascetic life, which developed, by an irresistible impulse, into the hermit-life and monasticism of the Nicene age. All the germs of this asceticism appear in the second half of the third century, and even earlier.

Asceticism in general is a rigid outward self-discipline, by which the spirit strives after full dominion over the flesh, and a superior grade of virtue.¹ It includes not only that true moderation or restraint of the animal appetites, which is a universal Christian duty, but total abstinence from enjoyments in themselves lawful, from wine, animal food, property, and marriage, together with all kinds of penances and mortifications of the body. In the union of the abstractive and penitential elements, or of self-denial and self-punishment, the catholic asceticism stands forth complete in light and shade; exhibiting, on the one hand, wonderful examples of heroic renunciation

¹ *Ἀσκησις*, from *ἀσκέω*, to exercise, to strengthen; primarily applied to athletic and gymnastic exercises, but used also, even by the heathens and by Philo, of moral self-discipline. Clement of Alex. represents the whole Christian life as an *ἀσκησις* (*Strom.* IV. 22) and calls the patriarch Jacob an *ἀσκητής* (*Pædag.* I. 7). But at the same time the term *ἀσκηταί* was applied from the middle of the second century by Athenagoras, Tertullian, Origen, Eusebius, Athanasius, Epiphanius, Jerome, etc., to a special class of self-denying Christians. Clement of Alex. styles them *ἐκλεκτῶν ἐκλεκτότεροι* (*Quis Dives salv.* 36; *Strom.* VIII. 15). Thus "ascetics" assumed the same meaning as "religious" in the middle ages. Zöckler takes a comprehensive view of asceticism, and divides it into eight branches, 1) the asceticism of penal discipline and self-castigation; 2) of domestic life; 3) of diet (fasting, abstinence); 4) of sexual life (celibacy); 5) of devotion; 6) of contemplation; 7) of practical life; 8) of social life (solitude, poverty, obedience).

of self and the world, but very often, on the other, a total misapprehension and perversion of Christian morality; the renunciation involving more or less a Gnostic contempt of the gifts and ordinances of the God of nature, and the penance or self-punishment running into practical denial of the all-sufficient merits of Christ. The ascetic and monastic tendency rests primarily upon a lively, though morbid sense of the sinfulness of the flesh and the corruption of the world; then upon the desire for solitude and exclusive occupation with divine things; and finally, upon the ambition to attain extraordinary holiness and merit. It would anticipate upon earth the life of angels in heaven.¹ It substitutes an abnormal, self-appointed virtue and piety for the normal forms prescribed by the Creator; and not rarely looks down upon the divinely-ordained standard with spiritual pride. It is a mark at once of moral strength and moral weakness. It presumes a certain degree of culture, in which man has emancipated himself from the powers of nature and risen to the consciousness of his moral calling; but thinks to secure itself against temptation only by entire separation from the world, instead of standing in the world to overcome it and transform it into the kingdom of God.

Asceticism is by no means limited to the Christian church, but it there developed its highest and noblest form. We observe kindred phenomena long before Christ; among the Jews, in the Nazarites, the Essenes, and the cognate Therapeutæ,² and still more among the heathens, in the old Persian and Indian religions, especially among the Buddhists, who have even a fully developed system of monastic life, which struck some Roman

¹ Matt. 22: 30. Hence the frequent designation of monastic life as a *vita angelica*.

² As described by Philo in his tract *De vita contemplativa* (*περί βίως θεωρητικῆς*). Eusebius (II. 17) mistook the Therapeutæ for Christian ascetics, and later historians for Christian monks. It was supposed that Philo was converted by the Apostle Peter. This error was not dispelled till after the Reformation. Lucius, in his recent monograph, sees in that tract an apology of Christian asceticism written at the close of the third century under the name of Philo. But Weingarten (in Herzog X. 761 sqq.) again argues for the Jewish, though post-Philonic origin of that book.

missionaries as the devil's caricature of the Catholic system. In Egypt the priests of Serapis led a monastic life.¹ There is something in the very climate of the land of the Pharaohs, in its striking contrast between the solitude of the desert and the fertility of the banks of the Nile, so closely bordering on each other, and in the sepulchral sadness of the people, which induces men to withdraw from the busy turmoil and the active duties of life. It is certain that the first Christian hermits and monks were Egyptians. Even the Grecian philosophy was conceived by the Pythagoreans, the Platonists, and the Stoics, not as theoretical knowledge merely, but also as practical wisdom, and frequently joined itself to the most rigid abstemiousness, so that "philosopher" and "ascetic" were interchangeable terms. Several apologists of the second century had by this practical philosophy, particularly the Platonic, been led to Christianity; and they on this account retained their simple dress and mode of life. Tertullian congratulates the philosopher's cloak on having now become the garb of a better philosophy. In the show of self-denial the Cynics, the followers of Diogenes, went to the extreme; but these, at least in their later degenerate days, concealed under the guise of bodily squalor, untrimmed nails, and uncombed hair, a vulgar cynical spirit, and a bitter hatred of Christianity.

In the ancient church there was a special class of Christians of both sexes who, under the name of "ascetics" or "abstinents,"² though still living in the midst of the community, retired from society, voluntarily renounced marriage and property, devoted themselves wholly to fasting, prayer, and religious contemplation, and strove thereby to attain Christian perfection. Sometimes they formed a society of their own,³ for mutual im-

¹ The Serapis monks have been made known by the researches of Letronne, Boissier, and especially Brunet de Presle (*Mémoire sur le Sérapéum de Memphis*, 1852 and 1865). Weingarten derives Christian monasticism from this source, and traces the resemblance of the two. Pachomius was himself a monk of Serapis before his conversion. See Revillout, *Le reclus du Sérapéum* (Paris 1880, quoted by Weingarten in Herzog X. 784).

² Ἀσκηταί, continentes; also παρθένοι, virgines.

³ Ἀσκητήριον.

provement, an *ecclesiola in ecclesia*, in which even children could be received and trained to abstinence. They shared with the confessors the greatest regard from their fellow-Christians, had a separate seat in the public worship, and were considered the fairest ornaments of the church. In times of persecution they sought with enthusiasm a martyr's death as the crown of perfection.

While as yet each congregation was a lonely oasis in the desert of the world's corruption, and stood in downright opposition to the surrounding heathen world, these ascetics had no reason for separating from it and flying into the desert. It was under and after Constantine, and partly as the result of the union of church and state, the consequent transfer of the world into the church, and the cessation of martyrdom, that asceticism developed itself to anchoretism and monkery, and endeavored thus to save the virgin purity of the church by carrying it into the wilderness. The first Christian hermit, Paul of Thebes, is traced back to the middle of the third century, but is lost in the mist of fable; St. Anthony, the real father of monks, belongs to the age of Constantine.¹ At the time of Cyprian² there was as yet no absolutely binding vow. The early origin and wide spread of this ascetic life are due to the deep moral earnestness of Christianity, and the prevalence of sin in all the social relations of the then still thoroughly pagan world. It was the

¹ Paul of Thebes withdrew in his sixteenth year, under the Decian persecution (250), to a cavern in the lower Thebais, and lived there for one hundred and thirteen years, fed by a raven, and known only to God until St. Anthony, about 350, revealed his existence to the world. But his biography is a pious romance of Jerome, the most zealous promoter of asceticism and monasticism in the West. "The Life of St. Anthony" (d. about 356) is usually ascribed to St. Athanasius, and has undoubtedly a strong historic foundation. Eusebius never mentions him, for the two passages in the *Chronicon* (ed. Schöne II. 192, 195) belong to the continuation of Jerome. But soon after the middle of the fourth century Anthony was regarded as the patriarch of monasticism, and his biography exerted great influence upon Gregory of Nazianzum, Jerome, and Augustin. See vol. III. 179 sqq. Weingarten denies the Athanasian authorship of the biography, but not the historic existence of Anthony (in Herzog, revised ed. vol. X. 774).

² Epist. LXII.

excessive development of the negative, world-rejecting element in Christianity, which preceded its positive effort to transform and sanctify the world.

The ascetic principle, however, was not confined, in its influence, to the proper ascetics and monks. It ruled more or less the entire morality and piety of the ancient and mediæval church; though, on the other hand, there were never wanting in her bosom protests of the free evangelical spirit against moral narrowness and excessive regard to the outward works of the law. The ascetics were but the most consistent representatives of the old catholic piety, and were commended as such by the apologists to the heathens. They formed the spiritual nobility, the flower of the church, and served especially as examples to the clergy.

§ 105. *Heretical and Catholic Asceticism.*

But we must now distinguish two different kinds of asceticism in Christian antiquity: a heretical and an orthodox or catholic. The former rests on heathen philosophy, the latter is a development of Christian ideas.

The heretical asceticism, the beginnings of which are resisted in the New Testament itself,¹ meets us in the Gnostic and Manichæan sects. It is descended from Oriental and Platonic ideas, and is based on a dualistic view of the world, a confusion of sin with matter, and a perverted idea of God and the creation. It places God and the world at irreconcilable enmity, derives the creation from an inferior being, considers the human body substantially evil, a product of the devil or the demiurge, and makes it the great moral business of man to rid himself of the same, or gradually to annihilate it, whether by excessive abstinence or by unbridled indulgence. Many of the Gnostics placed the fall itself in the first gratification of the sexual desire, which subjected man to the dominion of the Hyle.

¹ 1 Tim. 4: 3; Col. 2: 16 sqq. Comp. Rom. 14.

The orthodox or catholic asceticism starts from a literal and overstrained construction of certain passages of Scripture. It admits that all nature is the work of God and the object of his love, and asserts the divine origin and destiny of the human body, without which there could, in fact, be no resurrection, and hence no admittance to eternal glory.¹ It therefore aims not to mortify the body, but perfectly to control and sanctify it. For the metaphysical dualism between spirit and matter, it substitutes the ethical conflict between the spirit and the flesh. But in practice it exceeds the simple and sound limits of the Bible, falsely substitutes the bodily appetites and affections, or sensuous nature, as such, for the flesh, or the principle of selfishness, which resides in the soul as well as the body; and thus, with all its horror of heresy, really joins in the Gnostic and Manichæan hatred of the body as the prison of the spirit. This comes out especially in the depreciation of marriage and the family life, that divinely appointed nursery of church and state, and in excessive self-inflictions, to which the apostolic piety affords not the remotest parallel. The heathen Gnostic principle of separation from the world and from the body,² as a means of self-redemption, after being theoretically exterminated, stole into the church by a back door of practice, directly in face of the Christian doctrine of the high destiny of the body and perfect redemption through Christ.

The Alexandrian fathers furnished a theoretical basis for this asceticism in the distinction of a lower and higher morality, which corresponds to the Platonic or Pythagorean distinction between the life according to nature and the life above nature, or the practical and contemplative life. It was previously suggested by Hermas about the middle of the second century.³ Ter-

¹ The 51st Apostolic Canon, while favoring asceticism as a useful discipline, condemns those who "abhor" things in themselves innocent, as marriage, or flesh, or wine, and "blasphemously slander God's work, forgetting that all things are very good, and that God made man, male and female." The Canon implies that there were such heretical ascetics in the church, and they are threatened with excommunication.

² *Entweltlichung* and *Entleiblichung*.

³ *Pastor Herma. Simil. V. 3.* "If you do any good beyoud or outside of

tullian made a corresponding opposite distinction of mortal and venial sins.¹ Here was a source of serious practical errors, and an encouragement both to moral laxity and ascetic extravagance. The ascetics, and afterwards the monks, formed or claimed to be a moral nobility, a spiritual aristocracy, above the common Christian people; as the clergy stood in a separate caste of inviolable dignity above the laity, who were content with a lower grade of virtue. Clement of Alexandria, otherwise remarkable for his elevated ethical views, requires of the sage or gnostic, that he excel the plain Christian not only by higher knowledge, but also by higher, emotionless virtue, and stoical superiority to all bodily conditions; and he inclines to regard the body, with Plato, as the grave and fetter² of the soul. How little he understood the Pauline doctrine of justification by faith, may be inferred from a passage in the *Stromata*, where he explains the word of Christ: "Thy faith hath saved thee," as referring, not to faith simply, but to the Jews only, who lived according to the law; as if faith was something to be added to the good works, instead of being the source and principle of the holy life.³ Origen goes still further, and propounds quite distinctly the catholic doctrine of two kinds of morality and piety, a lower for all Christians, and a higher for saints or the select few.⁴ He

what is commanded by God (ἐκτὸς τῆς ἐντολῆς τοῦ θεοῦ), you will gain for yourself more abundant glory (δόξαν περισσοτέραν), and will be more honored by God than you would otherwise be."

¹ *Peccata irremissibilia* and *remissibilia*, or *mortalia* and *venialia*.

² *Τάφος, δεσμός*.

³ *Strom.* VI. 14: "When we hear, 'Thy faith hath saved thee' (Mark 5: 34), we do not understand him to say absolutely that those who have believed in any way whatever shall be saved, unless also works follow. But it was to the Jews alone that he spoke this utterance, who kept the law and lived blamelessly, who wanted only faith in the Lord."

⁴ *In Ep. ad Rom.* c. iii. ed. de la Rue iv. p. 507: "*Donec quis hoc tantum facit, quod debet, i. e. quæ præcepta sunt, inutilis servus. Si autem addas aliquid ad præceptum, tunc non jam inutilis servus eris, sed dicitur ad te: Euge serve bone et fidelis. Quid autem sit quod addatur præceptis et supra debitum fiat Paulus ap. dixit: De virginibus autem præceptum Domini non habeo, consilium autem do. tamquam misericordiam assecutus a Domino (1 Cor. 7: 25). Hoc opus super præceptum est. Et iterum præceptum est, ut hi qui evangelium nunciant, de evan- gelio vivant. Paulus autem dicit, quia nullo horum usus sum: et ideo non inutilis erit servus, sed fidelis et prudens.*"

includes in the higher morality works of supererogation,¹ i. e. works not enjoined indeed in the gospel, yet recommended as counsels of perfection,² which were supposed to establish a peculiar merit and secure a higher degree of blessedness. He who does only what is required of all is an unprofitable servant;³ but he who does more, who performs, for example, what Paul, in 1 Cor. 7: 25, merely recommends, concerning the single state, or like him, resigns his just claim to temporal remuneration for spiritual service, is called a good and faithful servant.⁴

Among these works were reckoned martyrdom, voluntary poverty, and voluntary celibacy. All three, or at least the last two of these acts, in connection with the positive Christian virtues, belong to the idea of the higher perfection, as distinguished from the fulfilment of regular duties, or ordinary morality. To poverty and celibacy was afterwards added absolute obedience; and these three things were the main subjects of the *consilia evangelica* and the monastic vow.

The ground on which these particular virtues were so strongly urged is easily understood. Property, which is so closely allied to the selfishness of man and binds him to the earth, and sexual intercourse, which brings out sensual passion in its greatest strength, and which nature herself covers with the veil of modesty;—these present themselves as the firmest obstacles to that perfection, in which God alone is our possession, and Christ alone our love and delight.

In these things the ancient heretics went to the extreme. The Ebionites made poverty the condition of salvation. The Gnostics were divided between the two excesses of absolute self-denial and unbridled self-indulgence. The Marcionites, Carpocratians, Prodicians, false Basilidians, and Manichæans objected to individual property, from hatred to the material world; and

¹ *Opera supererogatoria*.

² Matt. 19: 21; Luke 14: 26; 1 Cor. 7: 8 sq. 25. Hence *consilia evangelica*, in distinction from *præcepta*.

³ Luke 17: 10. ⁴ Matt. 25: 21.

Epiphanes, in a book "on Justice" about 125, defined virtue as a community with equality, and advocated the community of goods and women. The more earnest of these heretics entirely prohibited marriage and procreation as a diabolical work, as in the case of Saturninus, Marcion, and the Encratites; while other Gnostic sects substituted for it the most shameless promiscuous intercourse, as in Carpocrates, Epiphanes, and the Nicolaitans.

The ancient church, on the contrary, held to the divine institution of property and marriage, and was content to recommend the voluntary renunciation of these intrinsically lawful pleasures to the few elect, as means of attaining Christian perfection. She declared marriage holy, virginity more holy. But unquestionably even the church fathers so exalted the higher holiness of virginity, as practically to neutralize, or at least seriously to weaken, their assertion of the holiness of marriage. The Roman church, in spite of the many Bible examples of married men of God from Abraham to Peter, can conceive no real holiness without celibacy, and therefore requires celibacy of its clergy without exception.

§ 106. *Voluntary Poverty.*

The recommendation of voluntary poverty was based on a literal interpretation of the Lord's advice to the rich young ruler, who had kept all the commandments from his youth up: "If thou wouldest be perfect, go, sell that thou hast, and give to the poor, and thou shalt have treasure in heaven: and come, follow me."¹ To this were added the actual examples of the poverty of Christ and his apostles, and the community of goods in the first Christian church at Jerusalem. Many Christians, not of the ascetics only, but also of the clergy, like Cyprian, accordingly gave up all their property at their conversion, for the benefit of the poor. The later monastic societies sought to represent in their community of goods the original equality and the perfect brotherhood of men.

Yet on the other hand, we meet with more moderate views.

¹ Matt. 19: 21.

Clement of Alexandria, for example, in a special treatise on the right use of wealth,¹ observes, that the Saviour forbade not so much the possession of earthly property, as the love of it and desire for it; and that it is possible to retain the latter, even though the possession itself be renounced. The earthly, says he, is a material and a means for doing good, and the unequal distribution of property is a divine provision for the exercise of Christian love and beneficence. The true riches are the virtue, which can and should maintain itself under all outward conditions; the false are the mere outward possession, which comes and goes.

§ 107. *Voluntary Celibacy.*

The old catholic exaggeration of celibacy attached itself to four passages of Scripture, viz. Matt. 19: 12; 22: 30; 1 Cor. 7: 7 sq.; and Rev. 14: 4; but it went far beyond them, and unconsciously admitted influences from foreign modes of thought. The words of the Lord in Matt. 22: 30 (Luke 20: 35 sq.) were most frequently cited; but they expressly limit unmarried life to the angels, without setting it up as the model for men. Rev. 14: 4 was taken by some of the fathers more correctly in the symbolical sense of freedom from the pollution of idolatry. The example of Christ, though often urged, cannot here furnish a rule; for the Son of God and Saviour of the world was too far above all the daughters of Eve to find an equal companion among them, and in any case cannot be conceived as holding such relations. The whole church of the redeemed is his pure bride. Of the apostles some at least were married, and among them Peter, the oldest and most prominent of all. The advice of Paul in 1 Cor. ch. 7 is so cautiously given, that even here the view of the fathers found but partial support; especially if balanced with the Pastoral Epistles, where marriage is presented as the proper condition for the clergy. Nevertheless he was frequently made the apologist of celibacy by orthodox and

¹ Τίς ὁ σωζόμενος πλοῦσις.

heretical writers.¹ Judaism—with the exception of the paganizing Essenes, who abstained from marriage—highly honors the family life; it allows marriage even to the priests and the high-priests, who had in fact to maintain their order by physical reproduction; it considers unfruitfulness a disgrace or a curse.

Heathenism, on the contrary, just because of its own degradation of woman, and its low, sensual conception of marriage, frequently includes celibacy in its ideal of morality, and associates it with worship. The noblest form of heathen virginity appears in the six Vestal virgins of Rome, who, while girls of from six to ten years, were selected for the service of the pure goddess, and set to keep the holy fire burning on its altar; but, after serving thirty years, were allowed to return to secular life and marry. The penalty for breaking their vow of chastity was to be buried alive in the campus sceleratus.

The ascetic depreciation of marriage is thus due, at least in part, to the influence of heathenism. But with this was associated the Christian enthusiasm for angelic purity in opposition to the horrible licentiousness of the Græco-Roman world. It was long before Christianity raised woman and the family life to the purity and dignity which became them in the kingdom of God. In this view, we may the more easily account for many expressions of the church fathers respecting the female sex, and warnings against intercourse with women, which to us, in the present state of European and American civilization, sound perfectly coarse and unchristian. John of Damascus has collected in his *Parallels* such patristic expressions as these: "A woman is an evil." "A rich woman is a double evil." "A beautiful woman is a whited sepulchre." "Better is a man's wickedness than a woman's goodness." The men who could write so, must

¹ Thus, for example, in the rather worthless apocryphal *Acta Pauli et Theclæ*, which are first mentioned by Tertullian (*De Baptismo*, c. 17, as the production of a certain Asiatic presbyter), and must therefore have existed in the second century. There Paul is made to say: Μακάριοι οἱ ἐγκρατεῖς, διὰ αὐτοῖς λαλήσει ὁ θεός . . . μακάριοι οἱ ἔχοντες γυναῖκας ὥς μὴ ἔχοντες, διὰ αὐτοὶ κληρονομήσουσι τὸν θεόν . . . μακάρια τὰ σώματα τῶν παρθένων, διὰ αὐτὰ εὐαρεστήσουσιν τῷ θεῷ καὶ οὐκ ἀπολέσουσιν τὸν μισθὸν τῆς ἀγνείας αὐτῶν. See Tischendorf: *Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha*. Lips. 1851, p. 42 sq.

have forgotten the beautiful passages to the contrary in the proverbs of Solomon; yea, they must have forgotten their own mothers.

On the other hand, it may be said, that the preference given to virginity had a tendency to elevate woman in the social sphere and to emancipate her from that slavish condition under heathenism, where she could be disposed of as an article of merchandise by parents or guardians, even in infancy or childhood. It should not be forgotten that many virgins of the early church devoted their whole energies as deaconesses to the care of the sick and the poor, or exhibited as martyrs a degree of passive virtue and moral heroism altogether unknown before. Such virgins Cyprian, in his rhetorical language, calls "the flowers of the church, the masterpieces of grace, the ornament of nature, the image of God reflecting the holiness of our Saviour, the most illustrious of the flock of Jesus Christ, who commenced on earth that life which we shall lead once in heaven."

The excessive regard for celibacy and the accompanying depreciation of marriage date from about the middle of the second century, and reach their height in the Nicene age.

Ignatius, in his epistle to Polycarp, expresses himself as yet very moderately: "If any one can remain in chastity of the flesh to the glory of the Lord of the flesh" [or, according to another reading, "of the flesh of the Lord], let him remain thus without boasting;¹ if he boast, he is lost, and if it be made known, beyond the bishop,² he is ruined." What a stride from this to the obligatory celibacy of the clergy! Yet the admonition leads us to suppose, that celibacy was thus early, in the beginning of the second century, in many cases, boasted of as meritorious, and allowed to nourish spiritual pride. Ignatius is

¹ Ἐν ἀκαυχασίᾳ μεύετω.

² Ἐάν γινώσκῃ πλὴν τοῦ ἐπισκόπου, according to the larger Greek recension, c. 5, with which the Syriac (c. 2) and Armenian versions agree. But the shorter Greek recension reads πλεον for πλὴν, which would give the sense: "If he think himself (on that account) above the (married) bishop; *si majorem se episcopo censet.*"

the first to call voluntary virgins brides of Christ and jewels of Christ.

Justin Martyr goes further. He points to many Christians of both sexes who lived to a great age unpolluted; and he desires celibacy to prevail to the greatest possible extent. He refers to the example of Christ, and expresses the singular opinion, that the Lord was born of a virgin only to put a limit to sensual desire, and to show that God could produce without the sexual agency of man. His disciple Tatian ran even to the Gnostic extreme upon this point, and, in a lost work on Christian perfection, condemned conjugal cohabitation as a fellowship of corruption destructive of prayer. At the same period Athenagoras wrote, in his Apology: "Many may be found among us, of both sexes, who grow old unmarried, full of hope that they are in this way more closely united to God."

Clement of Alexandria is the most reasonable of all the fathers in his views on this point. He considers eunuchism a special gift of divine grace, but without yielding it on this account preference above the married state. On the contrary, he vindicates with great decision the moral dignity and sanctity of marriage against the heretical extravagances of his time, and lays down the general principle, that Christianity stands not in outward observances, enjoyments, and privations, but in righteousness and peace of heart. Of the Gnostics he says, that, under the fair name of abstinence, they act impiously towards the creation and the holy Creator, and repudiate marriage and procreation on the ground that a man should not introduce others into the world to their misery, and provide new nourishment for death. He justly charges them with inconsistency in despising the ordinances of God and yet enjoying the nourishment created by the same hand, breathing his air, and abiding in his world. He rejects the appeal to the example of Christ, because Christ needed no help, and because the church is his bride. The apostles also he cites against the impugnors of marriage. Peter and Philip begot children; Philip gave his daughters in marriage; and even Paul hesitated not to speak of a

female companion (rather only of his right to lead about such an one, as well as Peter). We seem translated into an entirely different, Protestant atmosphere, when in this genial writer we read: The perfect Christian, who has the apostles for his patterns, proves himself truly a man in this, that he chooses not a solitary life, but marries, begets children, cares for the household, yet under all the temptations which his care for wife and children, domestics and property, presents, swerves not from his love to God, and as a Christian householder exhibits a miniature of the all-ruling Providence.

But how little such views agreed with the spirit of that age, we see in Clement's own stoical and Platonizing conception of the sensual appetites, and still more in his great disciple Origen, who voluntarily disabled himself in his youth, and could not think of the act of generation as anything but polluting. Hieracas, or Hierax, of Leontopolis in Egypt, who lived during the Diocletian persecution, and probably also belonged to the Alexandrian school, is said to have carried his asceticism to a heretical extreme, and to have declared virginity a condition of salvation under the gospel dispensation. Epiphanius describes him as a man of extraordinary biblical and medical learning, who knew the Bible by heart, wrote commentaries in the Greek and Egyptian languages, but denied the resurrection of the material body and the salvation of children, because there can be no reward without conflict, and no conflict without knowledge (1 Tim. 2: 11). He abstained from wine and animal food, and gathered around him a society of ascetics, who were called Hieracitæ.¹ Methodius was an opponent of the spiritualistic, but not of the ascetic Origen, and wrote an enthusiastic plea for virginity, founded on the idea of the church as the pure, unspotted,

¹ Epiphanius. *Hær.* 67; August. *Hær.* 47. Comp. Neander, Walch, and the articles of Harnack in Herzog (VI. 100), and Salmon in Smith & Wace (III. 24). Epiphanius, the heresy hunter, probably exaggerated the doctrines of Hieracas, although he treats his asceticism with respect. It is hardly credible that he should have excluded married Christians and all children from heaven unless he understood by it only the highest degree of blessedness, as Neander suggests.

ever young, and ever beautiful bride of God. Yet, quite remarkably, in his "Feast of the Ten Virgins," the virgins express themselves respecting the sexual relations with a minuteness which, to our modern taste, is extremely indelicate and offensive.

As to the Latin fathers: The views of Tertullian for and against marriage, particularly against second marriage, we have already noticed.¹ His disciple Cyprian differs from him in his ascetic principles only by greater moderation in expression, and, in his treatise *De Habitu Virginum*, commends the unmarried life on the ground of Matt. 19: 12; 1 Cor. 7, and Rev. 14: 4.

Celibacy was most common with pious virgins, who married themselves only to God or to Christ,² and in the spiritual delights of this heavenly union found abundant compensation for the pleasures of earthly matrimony. But cases were not rare where sensuality, thus violently suppressed, asserted itself under other forms; as, for example, in indolence and ease at the expense of the church, which Tertullian finds it necessary to censure; or in the vanity and love of dress, which Cyprian rebukes; and, worst of all, in a desperate venture of asceticism, which probably often enough resulted in failure, or at least filled the imagination with impure thoughts. Many of these heavenly brides³ lived with male ascetics, and especially with unmarried clergymen, under pretext of a purely spiritual fellowship, in so intimate intercourse as to put their continence to the most perilous test, and wantonly challenge temptation, from which we should rather pray to be kept. This unnatural and shameless practice was probably introduced by the Gnostics; Irenæus at least charges it upon them. The first trace of it in the church appears early enough, though under a rather innocent allegorical form, in the *Pastor Hermæ*, which originated in the Roman church.⁴ It is next mentioned in the Pseudo-Clementine Epis-

¹ See § 99. p. 367.

² *Nuptæ Deo, Christo.*

³ *Ἀδελφαί, sorores* (1 Cor. 9: 5); afterwards cleverly called *γυναικες συνεισαστοι*, *mulieres subintroductas, extraneas.*

⁴ *Simil.* IX. c. 11 (ed. Gebhardt & Harnack, p. 218). *The Virgines.*

ties *Ad Virgines*. In the third century it prevailed widely in the East and West. The worldly-minded bishop Paulus of Antioch favored it by his own example. Cyprian of Carthage came out earnestly,¹ and with all reason, against the vicious practice, in spite of the solemn protestation of innocence by these "sisters," and their appeal to investigations through midwives. Several councils, at Elvira, Ancyra, Nicæa, &c., felt called upon to forbid this pseudo-ascetic scandal. Yet the intercourse of clergy with "*mulieres subintroductæ*" rather increased than diminished with the increasing stringency of the celibate laws, and has at all times more or less disgraced the Roman priesthood.

§ 108. Celibacy of the Clergy.

G. CALIXTUS (Luth.): *De conjug. clericorum*. Helmst. 1631; ed. emend. H. Ph. Kr. Henke, 1784, 2 Parts.

LUD. THOMASSIN (Rom. Cath., d. 1696): *Vetus et Nova Ecclesiæ Disciplina*. Lucae, 1728, 3 vols. fol.; Mayence, 1787, also in French. P. I. L. II. c. 60-67.

FR. ZACCARIA (R. C.): *Storia polemica del celibato sacro*. Rom. 1774; and *Nuova giustificazione del celibato sacro*. Fuligno, 1785.

F. W. CAROVÉ (Prot.): *Vollständige Sammlung der Cölibatsgesetze*. Francf. 1823.

J. ANT. & AUG. THEINER (R. C.): *Die Einführung der erzwungenen Ehelosigkeit bei den Geistlichen u. ihre Folgen*. Altenb. 1828; 2 vols.; second ed. Augsburg, 1845. In favor of the abolition of enforced celibacy.

who doubtless symbolically represent the Christian graces (*fides, abtinentia, potestas, patientia, simplicitas, innocentia, castitas, hilaritas, veritas, intelligentia, concordia, and caritas*, comp. c. 15), there say to Hermas, when he proposes an evening walk: Οὐ δύνασαι ἅφ' ἡμῶν ἀναχωρῆσαι . . . Μεθ' ἡμῶν κοιμηθήσῃ ὡς ἀδελφός, καὶ οὐχ' ὡς ἀνὴρ ἡμέτερος γὰρ ἀδελφός εἶ. Καὶ τοῦ λοιποῦ μέλλομεν μετὰ σοῦ κατοικεῖν, λίαν γὰρ σε ἀγαπῶμεν. Then the first of these virgins *fides*, comes to the blushing Hermas, and begins to kiss him. The others do the same; they lead him to the tower (symbol of the church), and sport with him. When night comes on, they retire together to rest, with singing and prayer; καὶ ἐμείνα, he continues, μετ' αὐτῶν τὴν νύκτα καὶ ἐκοιμήθην παρὰ τὸν πύργον. Ἔστρωσαν δὲ αἱ παρθένοι τοὺς λινοὺς χιτῶνας ἐαυτῶν χαμαί, καὶ ἐμὲ ἀνέκλιναν εἰς τὸ μέσον αὐτῶν, καὶ οὐδὲν ὅλως ἐποίησαν εἰ μὴ προσεγγίζοντο ἀλλὰ μετ' αὐτῶν ἀδιαλείπτως προσσηχόμεν. It cannot be conceived that the apostolic Hermas wrote such silly stuff. It sounds much more like a later Hermas towards the middle of the second century.

¹ Ep. I.XII., also V. and VI.

TH. FR. KLITSCHÉ (R. C.): *Geschichte des Cölibats* (from the time of the Apostles to Gregory VII.) Augsb. 1830.

A. MÖHLER: *Beleuchtung der (bädischen) Denkschrift zur Aufhebung des Cölibats*. In his 'Gesammelte Schriften.' Regensb. 1839, vol. I. 177 sqq.

C. J. HEFELE (R. C.): *Beiträge zur Kirchengesch.* Vol. I. 122-139.

A. DE ROSKOVANY (R. C.): *Cælibatus et Breviarium . . . a monumentis omnium sæculorum demonstrata*. Pest, 1861. 4 vols. A collection of material and official decisions. Schulte calls it "*ein gänzlich unkritischer Abdruck von Quellen.*"

HENRY C. LEA (Prot.): *An Historical Sketch of Sacerdotal Celibacy in the Christian Church*. Philadelphia, 1867, 601 pages. The only impartial and complete history down to 1866.

PROBST (R. C.): *Kirchliche Disciplin*, 1870.

J. FRIED. VON. SCHULTE (Prof. of jurisprudence in Bonn, and one of the leaders among the Old Catholics): *Der Cölibatszwang und dessen Aufhebung*. Bonn 1876 (96 pages). Against celibacy.

All the above works, except that of Lea, are more or less controversial. Comp. also, on the Roman Cath. side, art. *Celibacy*, MARTIGNY, and in KRAUS, "Real-Encykl. der christl. Alterthümer" (1881) I. 304-307 by FUNK, and in the new ed. of WETZER & WELTE's "Kirchenlexicon;" on the Prot. side, BINGHAM, Book IV. ch. V.; HERZOG, III. 299-303; and SMITH & CHEETHAM, I. 323-327.

As the clergy were supposed to embody the moral ideal of Christianity, and to be in the full sense of the term the heritage of God, they were required to practise especially rigid sexual temperance after receiving their ordination. The virginity of the church of Christ, who was himself born of a virgin, seemed, in the ascetic spirit of the age, to recommend a virgin priesthood as coming nearest his example, and best calculated to promote the spiritual interests of the church.

There were antecedents in heathenism to sacerdotal celibacy. Buddhism rigorously enjoined it under a penalty of expulsion. The Egyptian priests were allowed one, but forbidden a second marriage, while the people practiced unrestrained polygamy. The priestesses of the Delphic Apollo, the Achaian Juno, the Scythian Diana, and the Roman Vesta were virgins.

In the ante-Nicene period sacerdotal celibacy did not as yet become a matter of law, but was left optional, like the vow of chastity among the laity. In the Pastoral Epistles of Paul

marriage, if not expressly enjoined, is at least allowed to all ministers of the gospel (bishops and deacons), and is presumed to exist as the rule.¹ It is an undoubted fact that Peter and several apostles, as well as the Lord's brothers, were married,² and that Philip the deacon and evangelist had four daughters.³ It is also self-evident that, if marriage did not detract from the authority and dignity of an apostle, it cannot be inconsistent with the dignity and purity of any minister of Christ. The marriage relation implies duties and privileges, and it is a strange perversion of truth if some writers under the influence of dogmatic prejudice have turned the apostolic marriages, and that between Joseph and Mary into empty forms. Paul would have expressed himself very differently if he had meant to deny to the clergy the conjugal intercourse after ordination, as

¹ The passages 1 Tim. 3: 2, 12; Tit. 1: 5, where St. Paul directs that presbyter-bishops and deacons must be husbands of "one wife" (*μίας γυναῖκος ἀνδρες*), are differently interpreted. The Greek church takes the words both as *commanding* (*δεῖ*) *one marriage* of the clergy (to the exclusion, however, of bishops who must be unmarried), and as *prohibiting a second marriage*. The Roman church understands Paul as conceding one marriage to the weakness of the flesh, but as intimating the better way of total abstinence (Comp. 1 Cor. 7: 7, 32, 33). Protestant commentators are likewise divided; some refer the two passages to simultaneous, others to successive polygamy. The former view was held even by some Greek fathers, Theodore of Mopsueste and Theodoret; but the parallel expression *ἐνός ἀνδρός γυνή*, 1 Tim. 5: 9, seems to favor the latter view, since it is very unlikely that polyandry existed in apostolic churches. And yet Paul expressly allows without a censure second marriage after the death of the former husband or wife, Rom. 7: 2, 3; 1 Cor. 7: 39; 1 Tim. 5: 14. For this reason some commentators (Matthies, Hofmann, Huther in Meyer's *Com.*) understand the apostle as prohibiting concubinage or all illegitimate connubial intercourse.

² 1 Cor. 9: 5: "Have we no right (*ἐξουσίαν*) to lead about a wife that is a believer (*ἀδελφὴν γυναῖκα*), even as the rest of the apostles (*οἱ λοιποὶ ἀπ.*) and the brothers of the Lord (*οἱ ἀδελφοὶ τ. Κυρίου*), and Cephas?" The definite article seems to indicate that the majority, if not all, the apostles and brothers of the Lord were married. The only certain exception is John, and probably also Paul, though he may have been a widower. Tertullian in his blind zeal argued that *γυναῖκα* is to be rendered *mulierem*, not *uxorem* (*De Monog.* c. 8), but his contemporary, Clement of Alex., does not question the true interpretation, speaks of Peter, Paul, and Philip, as married, and of Philip as giving his daughters in marriage. Tradition ascribes to Peter a daughter, St. Petronilla.

³ Acts 21: 8, 9.

was done by the fathers and councils in the fourth century. He expressly classes the prohibition of marriage (including its consequences) among the doctrines of demons or evil spirits that control the heathen religions, and among the signs of the apostacy of the latter days.¹ The Bible represents marriage as the first institution of God dating from the state of man's innocency, and puts the highest dignity upon it in the Old and New Covenants. Any reflection on the honor and purity of the married state and the marriage bed reflects on the patriarchs, Moses, the prophets, and the apostles, yea, on the wisdom and goodness of the Creator.²

There was an early departure from these Scripture views in the church under the irresistible influence of the ascetic enthusiasm for virgin purity. The undue elevation of virginity necessarily implied a corresponding depreciation of marriage.

The scanty documents of the post-apostolic age give us only incidental glimpses into clerical households, yet sufficient to prove the unbroken continuance of clerical marriages, especially in the Eastern churches, and at the same time the superior estimate put upon an unmarried clergy, which gradually limited or lowered the former.

Polycarp expresses his grief for Valens, a presbyter in Philippi, "and his wife," on account of his covetousness.³ Irenæus mentions a married deacon in Asia Minor who was ill-rewarded for his hospitality to a Gnostic heretic, who seduced his wife.⁴ Rather unfortunate examples. Clement of Alexandria, one of the most enlightened among the ante-Nicene fathers, describes the true ideal of a Christian Gnostic as one who marries and has children, and so attains to a higher excellence, because he con-

¹ 1 Tim. 4: 1-3.

² Comp. Heb. 13: 4: "*Let marriage be had in honor among all, and let the bed be undefiled*" (τίμιος ὁ γάμος ἐν πᾶσι, καὶ ἡ κοίτη ἁγία).

³ *Ep. ad Phil.* c. 11. Some think that *incontinence* or *adultery* is referred to; but the proper reading is *φιλαργυρία*, *avaritia*, not *πλεονεξία*.

⁴ *Adv. Hær.* 1. 13, 5 (ed. Stieren I. 155).

quers more temptations than that of the single state.¹ Tertullian, though preferring celibacy, was a married priest, and exhorted his wife to refrain after his death from a second marriage in order to attain to that ascetic purity which was impossible during their married life.² He also draws a beautiful picture of the holy beauty of a Christian family. An African priest, Novatus—another unfortunate example—was arraigned for murdering his unborn child.³ There are also examples of married bishops. Socrates reports that not even bishops were bound in his age by any law of celibacy, and that many bishops during their episcopate begat children.⁴ Athanasius says:⁵ "Many bishops have not contracted matrimony; while, on the other hand, monks have become fathers. Again, we see bishops who have children, and monks who take no thought of having posterity." The father of Gregory of Nazianzum (d. 390) was a married bishop, and his mother, Nonna, a woman of exemplary piety, prayed earnestly for male issue, saw her future son in a prophetic vision, and dedicated him, before his birth, to the service of God, and he became the leading theologian of his age. Gregory of Nyssa (d. about 394) was likewise a married bishop, though he gave the preference to celibacy. Synesius, the philosophic disciple of Hypatia of Alexandria, when pressed to accept the bishopric of Ptolemais (A. D. 410), declined at first, because he was unwilling to separate from his wife, and desired numerous offspring; but

¹ *Strom.* VII. 12, p. 741.

² *Ad Uxor.* I. 7: "*Ut quod in matrimonio non valuius, in viduitate sectemur.*" This clearly implies the continuance of sexual intercourse. Tertullian lays down the principle: "*Defuncto viro matrimonium defungitur.*"

³ Cyprian, *Epist.* 52, cap. 2, Oxf. ed. and ed. Hartel (*al.* 48). He paints his schismatical opponent in the darkest colors, and charges him with kicking his wife in a state of pregnancy, and thus producing a miscarriage, but he does not censure him for his marriage.

⁴ *Hist. Eccl.* V. 22: "In the East all clergymen, and even the bishops themselves abstain from their wives: but this they do of their own accord, there being no law in force to make it necessary; for there have been among them many bishops who have had children by their lawful wives during their episcopate."

⁵ In a letter to the Egyptian monk Dracontius, who had scruples about accepting a call to the episcopate.

he finally accepted the office without a separation. This proves that his case was already exceptional. The sixth of the Apostolical Canons directs: "Let not a bishop, a priest, or a deacon cast off his own wife under pretence of piety; but if he does cast her off, let him be suspended. If he go on in it, let him be deprived." The Apostolical Constitutions nowhere prescribe clerical celibacy, but assume the single marriage of bishop, priest, and deacon as perfectly legitimate.¹

The inscriptions on the catacombs bear likewise testimony to clerical marriages down to the fifth century.²

¹ This is substantially also the position of Eusebius, Epiphanius, and Chrysostom, as far as we may infer from allusions, and their expositions of 1 Tim. 3: 2, although all preferred celibacy as a higher state. See Funk, *l. c.* p. 305. The Synod of Gangra, after the middle of the fourth century, anathematized (*Can.* 4) those who maintained that it was wrong to attend the eucharistic services of priests living in marriage. See Hefele I. 782, who remarks against Baronius, that the canon means such priests as not only had wives, but lived with them in conjugal intercourse (*mit denselben ehelich leben*). The *Codex Ecclesiae Rom.* ed. by Quesnel omits this canon.

² Lundy (*Monumental Christianity*, N. Y. 1876, p. 343 sqq.) quotes the following inscriptions of this kind from Gruter, Bosio, Arringhi, Burgon, and other sources:

"The place of the Presbyter Basil and his Felicitas.
They made it for themselves."

"Susanna, once the happy daughter of the Presbyter Gabinus,
Here lies in peace joined with her father."

"Gaudentius, the Presbyter, for himself and his wife Severa, a virtuous woman, who lived 42 years, 3 months, 10 days. Buried on the 4th after the nones of April, Timasius and Promus being consuls."

"Petronia, the wife of a Levite, type of modesty. In this place I lay my bones; spare your tears, dear husband and daughters, and believe that it is forbidden to weep for one who lives in God. Buried in peace, on the third before the nones of October."

The names of three children appear on the same tablet, and are no doubt those referred to by Petronia as hers, with the consular dates of their burial. Her own interment was A. D. 472.

Gruter and Le Blant both publish a very long and elaborate inscription at Narbonne, A. D. 427, to the effect that Rusticus the Bishop, son of Bonosius, a Bishop, nephew of Aratoris, another Bishop, etc., in connection with the presbyter Ursus and the deacon Hermetus, began to build the church; and that Montanus the sub deacon finished the apse, etc.

At the same time the tendency towards clerical celibacy set in very early, and made steady and irresistible progress, especially in the West. This is manifest in the qualifications of the facts and directions just mentioned. For they leave the impression that there were not many *happy* clerical marriages and model pastors' wives in the early centuries; nor could there be so long as the public opinion of the church, contrary to the Bible, elevated virginity above marriage.

1. The first step in the direction of clerical celibacy was the prohibition of *second* marriage to the clergy, on the ground that Paul's direction concerning "the husband of *one* wife" is a restriction rather than a command. In the Western church, in the early part of the third century, there were many clergymen who had been married a second or even a third time, and this practice was defended on the ground that Paul allowed re-marriage, after the death of one party, as lawful without any restriction or censure. This fact appears from the protest of the Montanistic Tertullian, who makes it a serious objection to the Catholics, that they allow digamists to preside, to baptize, and to celebrate the communion.¹ Hippolytus, who had equally rigoristic views on discipline, reproaches about the same time the Roman bishop Callistus with admitting to sacerdotal and episcopal office those who were married a second and even a third time, and permitting the clergy to marry after having been ordained.² But the rigorous practice prevailed, and was legalized in the Eastern church. The Apostolical Constitutions expressly forbid bishops, priests, and deacons to marry a second time. They also forbid clergymen to marry a concubine, or a slave, or a widow, or a divorced woman, and extend the prohibition of second marriage even to cantors, readers, and porters. As to the deaconess, she must be "a pure virgin, or a widow who has been but once married, faithful and well esteemed."³

¹ He asks the Catholics with indignation: "*Quot enim et digami president apud vos, insultantes utique apo-tolo. certe non erubescetes, cum hæc sub illis leguntur? . . . Digamus tinguis? digamus offers?*" *De Mondg.* c. 12.

² *Philosoph.* IX. 12.

³ *Const. Ap.* VI. 17.

The Apostolical Canons give similar regulations, and declare that the husband of a second wife, of a widow, a courtesan, an actress, or a slave was ineligible to the priesthood.¹

2. The second step was the prohibition of marriage and conjugal intercourse *after* ordination. This implies the incompatibility of the priesthood with the duties and privileges of marriage. Before the Council of Elvira in Spain (306) no distinction was made in the Latin church between marriages before and after ordination.² But that rigoristic council forbade nuptial intercourse to priests of all ranks upon pain of excommunication.³ The Council of Arles (314) passed a similar canon.⁴ And so did the Council of Ancyra (314), which, however, allows deacons to marry as deacons, in case they stipulated for it before taking orders.⁵ This exception was subsequently removed by the 27th

¹ Can. 17, 18, 19, 27. The Jewish high-priests were likewise required to marry a virgin of their own people. Lev. 21: 16.

² Admitted by Prof. Funk (R. Cath.), who quotes Innocent, *Ep. ad Episc. Maced.* c. 2; Leo I. *Ep.* XII. c. 5. He also admits that Paul's direction excludes such a distinction. See Kraus, *Real-Enc.* I. 304 sq.

³ Can. 33: "*Placuit in totum prohibere episcopis, presbyteris, et diaconibus, vel omnibus clericis positus in ministerio, abstinere se a conjugibus suis, et non generare filios; quicumque vero fecerit, ab honore clericatus exterminetur.*" Hefele says (I. 168): "This celebrated canon contains the first law of celibacy." It is strange that the canon in its awkward latinity seems to prohibit the clergy to abstain from their wives, when in fact it means to prohibit the intercourse. On account of the words *positus in ministerio*, some would see here only a prohibition of sexual commerce at the time of the performance of clerical functions, as in the Jewish law; but this was self-understood, and would not come up to the disciplinary standard of that age. How little, however, even in Spain, that first law on celibacy was obeyed, may be inferred from the letter of Pope Siricius to Bishop Himerius of Tarragona, that there were, at the close of the fourth century, *plurimi sacerdotes Christi et levites* living in wedlock.

⁴ Can. 6 (29, see Hefele I. 217): "*Præterea, quod dignum, pudicum et honestum est, suademus fratribus, ut sacerdotes et levites cum uxoribus suis non cōant, quia ministerio quotidiano occupantur. Quicumque contra hanc constitutionem fecerit, a clericatus honore deponatur.*"

⁵ Can. 10 (Hefele, *Conciliengesch.* I. p. 230, 2^{te} Aufl.). The canon is adopted in the *Corpus juris can.* c. 8. Dist. 28. The Synod of Neo-Cæsarea, between 314-325, c. 1, forbids the priests to marry on pain of deposition. This does not conflict with the other canon, and likewise passed into the Canon Law, c. 9, Dist. 23. See Hefele, I. 244.

Apostolic Canon, which allows only the lectors and cantors (belonging to the minor orders) to contract marriage.¹

At the Œcumenical Council of Nicæa (325) an attempt was made, probably under the lead of Hosius, bishop of Cordova—the connecting link between Elvira and Nicæa—to elevate the Spanish rule to the dignity and authority of an œcumenical ordinance, that is, to make the prohibition of marriage after ordination and the strict abstinence of married priests from conjugal intercourse, the universal law of the Church; but the attempt was frustrated by the loud protest of Paphnutius, a venerable bishop and confessor of a city in the Upper Thebaid of Egypt, who had lost one eye in the Diocletian persecution, and who had himself never touched a woman. He warned the fathers of the council not to impose too heavy a burden on the clergy, and to remember that marriage and conjugal intercourse were venerable and pure. He feared more harm than good from excessive rigor. It was sufficient, if unmarried clergymen remain single according to the ancient tradition of the church; but it was wrong to separate the married priest from his legitimate wife, whom he married while yet a layman. This remonstrance of a strict ascetic induced the council to table the subject and to leave the continuance or discontinuance of the married relation to the free choice of every clergyman. It was a prophetic voice of warning.²

The Council of Nicæa passed no law in favor of celibacy; but it strictly prohibited in its third canon the dangerous and scandalous practice of unmarried clergymen to live with an unmar-

¹ "Of those who come into the clergy unmarried, we permit only the readers and singers, if they are so minded, to marry afterward."

² This important incident of Paphnutius rests on the unanimous testimony of the well informed historians Socrates (*Hist. Eccl.* I. 11), Sozomen (*H. E.* I. 23), and Gelasius Cysic. (*Hist. Cons. Nic.* II. 32); see Mansi, Harduin, and Hefele (I. 431-435). It agrees moreover with the directions of the Apost. Const. and Canons, and with the present practice of the Eastern churches on this subject. The objections of Baronius, Bellarmine, Valesius, and other Romanists are unfounded and refuted by Natalis Alexander, and Hefele (l. c.). Funk (R. C.) says: "*Die Einwendungen, die gegen den Bericht vorgebracht wurden, sind völlig nichtig*" (utterly futile).

ried woman,¹ unless she be "a mother or sister or aunt or a person above suspicion."² This prohibition must not be confounded with prohibition of nuptial intercourse any more than those spiritual concubines are to be identified with regular wives. It proves, however, that nominal clerical celibacy must have extensively prevailed at the time.

The Greek Church substantially retained the position of the fourth century, and gradually adopted the principle and practice of limiting the law of celibacy to bishops (who are usually taken from monasteries), and making a single marriage the rule for the lower clergy; the marriage to take place *before* ordination, and not to be repeated. Justinian excluded married men from the episcopate, and the Trullan Synod (A. D. 692) legalized the existing practice. In Russia (probably since 1274), the single marriage of the lower clergy was made obligatory. This is an error in the opposite direction. Marriage, as well as celibacy, should be left free to each man's conscience.

3. The Latin Church took the third and last step, the *absolute prohibition* of clerical marriage, including even the lower orders. This belongs to the next period; but we will here briefly anticipate the result. Sacerdotal marriage was first prohibited by Pope Siricius (A. D. 385), then by Innocent I. (402), Leo I. (440), Gregory I. (590), and by provincial Synods of Carthage (390 and 401), Toledo (400), Orleans (538), Orange (441), Arles (443 or 452), Agde (506), Gerunda (517). The great teachers of the Nicene and post-Nicene age, Jerome, Augustine, and Chrysostom, by their extravagant laudations of the superior sanctity of virginity, gave this legislation the weight of their authority. St. Jerome, the author of the Latin standard

¹ Euphroniously called *συνεισακτος*, *subintroducta* (introduced as a companion), *ἀγαπητή*, *soror*. See Hefele, I. 380. Comp. on this canon W. Bright, *Notes on the Canons of the First Four General Councils*. Oxford, 1882, pp. 8, 9. A Council of Antioch had deposed Paul of Samosata, bishop of Antioch, for this nasty practice, and for heresy. Euseb. *H. E.* VII. 30.

² Notwithstanding this canonical prohibition the disreputable practice continued. Chrysostom wrote a discourse "against persons *ἐχοντας παρθένους συνεισακτους*," and another urging the dedicated virgins not to live with them. Jerome complains of the "*pestis agapetarum*" (*Ep.* XXII. 14).

version of the Bible, took the lead in this ascetic crusade against marriage, and held up to the clergy as the ideal aim of the saint, to "cut down the wood of marriage by the axe of virginity." He was willing to praise marriage, but only as the nursery of virgins.¹

Thus celibacy was gradually enforced in the West under the combined influence of the sacerdotal and hierarchical interests to the advantage of the hierarchy, but to the injury of morality.²

For while voluntary abstinence, or such as springs from a special gift of grace, is honorable and may be a great blessing to the church, the forced celibacy of the clergy, or celibacy as a universal condition of entering the priesthood, does violence to nature and Scripture, and, all sacramental ideas of marriage to the contrary notwithstanding, degrades this divine ordinance, which descends from the primeval state of innocence, and symbolizes the holiest of all relations, the union of Christ with his church. But what is in conflict with nature and nature's God is also in conflict with the highest interests of morality. Much, therefore, as Catholicism has done to raise woman and the family life from heathen degradation, we still find, in general, that in

¹ Ep. XXII. "*Laudo nuptias, laudo conjugium, sed quia mihi virgines generant.*" Comp. Ep. CXXIII.

² And the Roman church seems to care more for the power, than for the purity of the clergy. Gregory VII., who used all his unflinching energy to enforce celibacy, said openly: "*Non liberari potest ecclesia a servitute laicorum, nisi liberentur clerici ab uzoribus.*" As clerical celibacy is a matter of discipline, not of doctrine, the Pope might at any time abolish it, and Aeneas Sylvius, before he ascended the chair of Peter as Pius II. (1458 to 1464), remarked that marriage had been denied to priests for good and sufficient reasons, but that still stronger ones now required its restoration. The United Greeks and Maronites are allowed to retain their wives. Joseph II. proposed to extend the permission. During the French Revolution, and before the conclusion of the Concordat (1801), many priests and nuns were married. But the hierarchical interest always defeated in the end such movements, and preferred to keep the clergy aloof from the laity in order to exercise a greater power over it. "The Latin church," says Lea at the close of his book (p. 569), "is the most wonderful structure in history, and ere its leaders can consent to such a reform they must confess that its career, so full of proud recollections, has been an error."

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